

**THE SHAKESPEARE CANON**

**PART IV**

**DIVISION I**

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE  
SHAKESPEARE CANON: PROCEEDING ON THE  
PROBLEM OF "TITUS ANDRONICUS."

THE SHAKESPEARE CANON: PART I:

I: The Origination of "Henry V."

II: The Origination of "Julius Cæsar."

III: The Authorship of "Richard III."

THE SHAKESPEARE CANON: PART II:

I: The Authorship of "The Two Gentlemen of Verona."

II: The Authorship of "Richard II."

III: The Authorship of "The Comedy of Errors."

IV: The Problem of "Measure for Measure."

THE SHAKESPEARE CANON: PART III:

I: The "Acceptance" of "Shakespeare."

II: "All's Well that Ends Well."

III: "Romeo and Juliet."

THE PROBLEMS OF THE SHAKESPEARE SONNETS.

THE PROBLEM OF "HAMLET."

"HAMLET" ONCE MORE.

CROCE AS SHAKESPEAREAN CRITIC.

SHAKESPEARE AND CHAPMAN.

THE PROBLEM OF "THE MERRY WIVES OF  
WINDSOR."

MONTAIGNE AND SHAKESPEARE.

THE BACONIAN HERESY: A Confutation.

ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE.

THE  
SHAKESPEARE CANON

PART IV  
DIVISION I

- I: THE COURSE OF CRITICISM  
II: THE FIRST PART OF "HENRY VI"  
INDUCTIVELY CONSIDERED

BY

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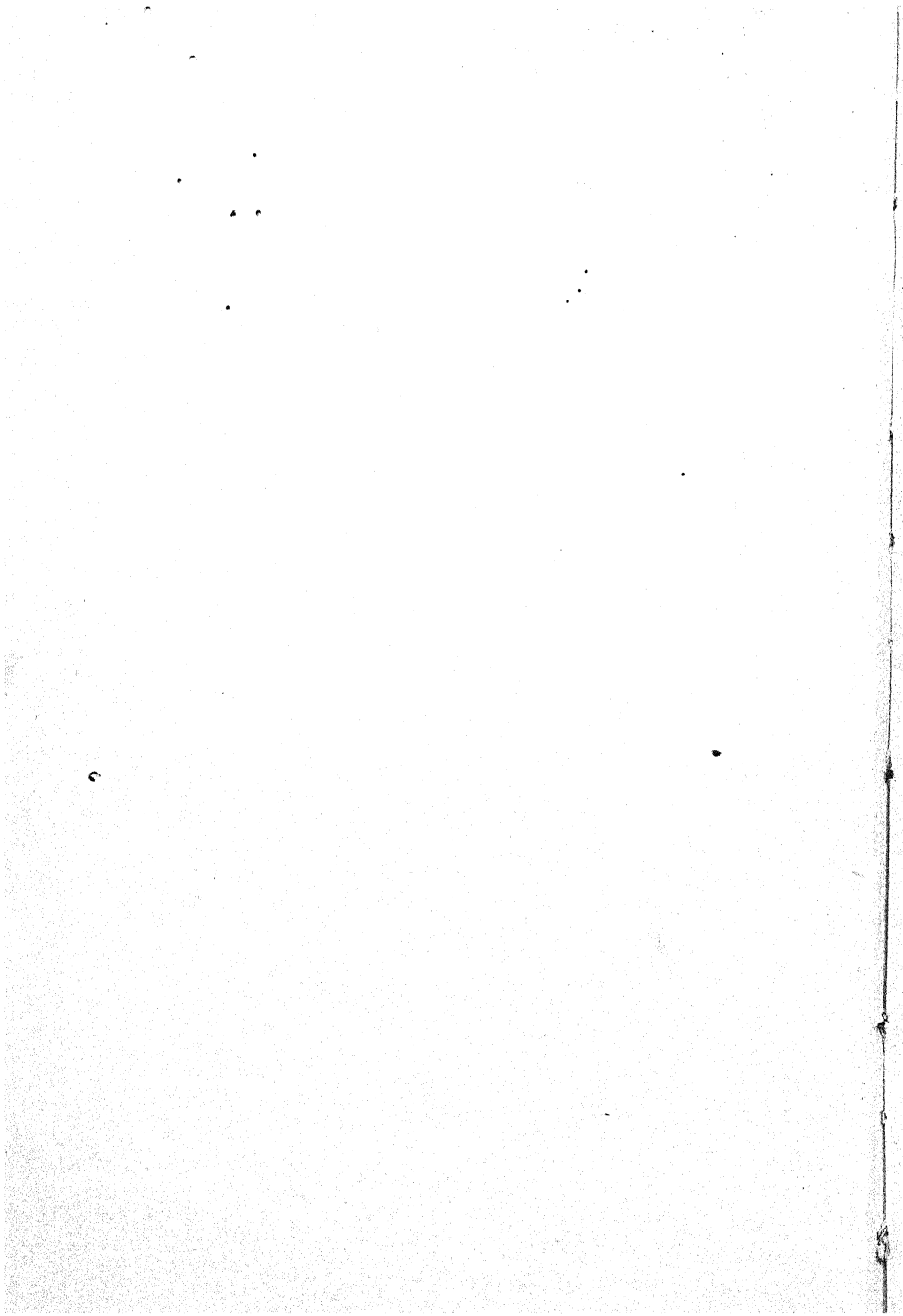
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## PREFACE

Even so bad a play as 1 HENRY VI, intelligently studied, may be, for readers willing to learn, a point of entrance into a real knowledge of Shakespeare, who did not write it. While most academics stand aloof from the larger problems altogether, many appear to find in the HENRY VI trilogy educational material for critical purposes. Thus one American University edition informs the unprotected student that 1 HENRY VI, as a whole, is the work of Peele, merely revised and interpolated by Shakespeare—a thing which the critical and percipient reader of Peele knows to be impossible. The most painstaking American monograph, again, recognises the obvious to the extent of seeing Marlowe at the opening, yet, by reason of a fatally false theory as to the evolution of the “feminine ending” in blank verse, continues to ascribe the chief Marlowe scene to Shakespeare, and, joining forces with Grant White and another American inquirer, gives other scenes which are Marlowe’s to Peele.

In England, in the past, matters have gone no better, save inasmuch as one gifted but erring pioneer gave the American monographer his lead to the recognition that there are four hands in the play. A hundred years ago, there were good English Shakespearians who saw and said that Shakespeare had no more to do with 1 HENRY VI than with TITUS ANDRONICUS. But they did not *work* on the problem; and, despite the energetic attempt by the ardent amateurs of the doomed N.S.S. to clear up matters in the ’seventies, the practice

of giving verdicts without the evidence has continued to the present time. Swinburne, morally and judicially indignant, pointed out that the most infamous scene of the degradation of Joan of Arc was in all probability by Peele; and he of course saw Marlowe in the opening scene. But Swinburne seems to have been quite sure that the Roses scene was by Shakespeare, and in that view he had with him Furnivall and (save at the last) Fleay. And Fleay could rest satisfied with assigning to Shakespeare the Talbot death-scenes. And the "Arden" editor gravely gives the very worst scene, as well as most of the others, to Shakespeare.

A strange failure to realise the nature of Shakespeare's *versification* underlay all these delusions, as it still does the explicitly wrong doctrine of several American scholars. That Swinburne appears never to have seen the profound difference between Marlovian and Shakespearean verse, and that even Coleridge came only late into the true knowledge, would seem to signify that right vision or mental audition in this matter is not easy. And till we actually come, in the study of the trilogy, to the genuine voice or vibration of Shakespeare, near the end of 2 HENRY VI, perhaps revelation will still be found lacking, though the real Shakespeare lies before all, at the start, in the first scene of the COMEDY OF ERRORS, and, after that, in the DREAM, and 1 HENRY IV, and KING JOHN. It is a sinister fact that in all the quasi-systematic discussion of the trilogy, begun by Malone and reopened half a century ago by Miss Jane Lee, *nobody* has ever cited the genuine Shakespearean lines from 2 HENRY VI as giving the vital cue.

But the ground must be cleared of much card architecture before we can come to the apportionment of 2 and 3 HENRY VI among the contributors. We must "reconstruct the crime" of the First Part before we can

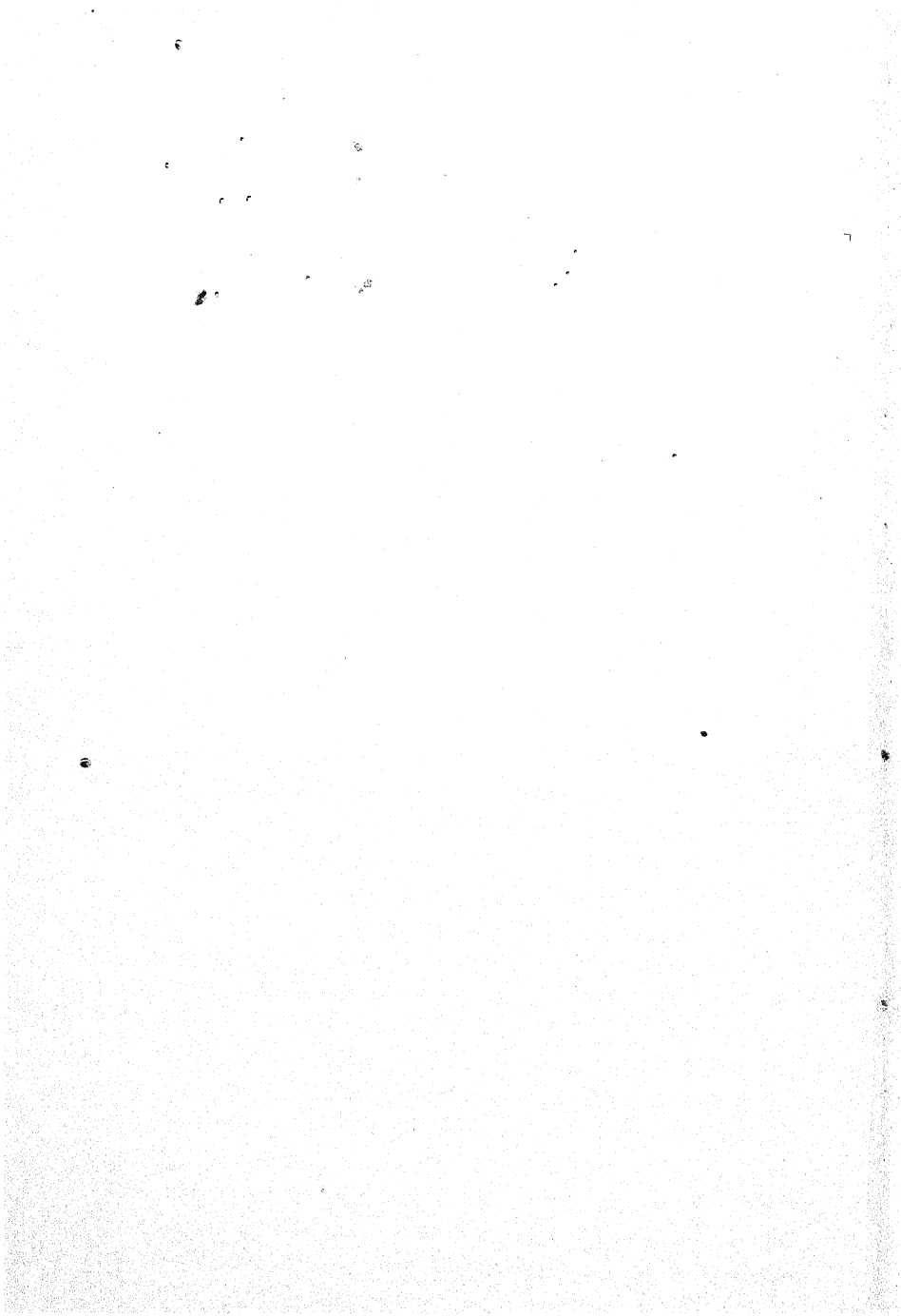
be alert to the original situation even so far as expecting the ordinary reader to have done with the pious absurdity of ascribing a share in the *original* plays to Shakespeare, and to face critically the problems of the revision.

The First Part, considered as a mere exposition of history, is such an outrageous crazy-quilt that we can understand the cry of Carlyle: "The writer of that [HENRY VI] is a *stupid* man."<sup>1</sup> But it is something to discover, by analysis, that the piece is the production of a group of indigent playwrights earning their living in their own way, as Carlyle did in his. There is perhaps nothing stupider, in some ways, than a bumble-bee. But he has noteworthy faculties; and of the four fate-driven performers under notice one was strangely gifted, and as much intellectually as poetically superior to his two outstanding accomplices.

The present writer had originally proposed, and indeed set out, to make the HENRY VI trilogy the subject-matter of the first volume of "The Shakespeare Canon," having precluded on TITUS at one extreme, and on HAMLET at the other. And perhaps he had better have taken that course, in view of the average modes of progression. But there is something to be said for the course of first facing the greater problems in a large critical survey which he may not live to complete.

In the present volume he has been importantly assisted at several points by the research of his friend Mr Marley Denwood, who, though not assenting to all the assignments, has brought to bear on them his uncommon powers of verbal and phrasal memory in the field of the Elizabethan drama.

<sup>1</sup> William Allingham: *A Diary*, 1907, p. 10.



## POSTSCRIPT

Since the copy for this Division was put in the hands of the publishers, there has appeared the work of Mr Peter Alexander on "Shakespeare's Henry VI and Richard III," with an Introduction by Professor A. W. Pollard. As that work deals in the main rather with 2 and 3 HENRY VI than with 1 HENRY VI, it is fitly to be examined in detail in Division II, and there I propose to deal fully with the thesis of Mr Alexander that Shakespeare criticism must remain, in these matters, anchored to Heminge and Condell, as was maintained in his monograph by the late Sir Walter Raleigh, who contradicted himself on his next page. It is here to be noted, however, that while Mr Alexander offers a bare negative argument for the Shakespearean authorship of 1 HENRY VI, making (necessarily) no attempt to examine the handiwork of the play, Professor Pollard significantly wavers on the subject.

Thus, while he "inclines to believe" (p. 25) that "1 HENRY VI, was originally written by Shakespeare in collaboration with Peele" (an approximation to Professor Tucker Brooke's theory of Peele recast or revised by Shakespeare), he does not press that view as against Mr Alexander, but recognises (p. 26) that "our extant text of it stands out as the result of repeated and drastic rehandlings"—a view elaborated in advance in the following pages. Further, Professor Pollard makes the admission: "I confess I want Peele so bitterly in 1 HENRY VI to shoulder the Joan of Arc libels (as a pair to his libels on Queen Elinor in

EDWARD I) . . . that I am loth to give him up." The Professor thus appears still to recognise an argument from substance, even in the apparent act of avowing that he can see no style test where for so many eyes the style test is even now decisive. Furthermore, he is somewhat at odds with Mr Alexander when he avows (p. 23) that Heminge and Condell seem to him "not in the least likely to have seriously considered the exclusion of plays from the Folio because someone besides Shakespeare may have had a hand in them."

I must not, however, seem to make too much of Professor Pollard's leanings to what I regard as sane criticism of the problems before us. It is fitting to note that, as he says (p. 9), he has been "converted" to holding, or feels "bound to work on the basis," that the newly revised *TITUS ANDRONICUS* of 1594 "was in whole or in part by Shakespeare"; nay, that the older "*Tittus and Vespasia*" must *also*, "if it is to be accepted as an earlier version of *ANDRONICUS*, be accepted as in whole or in part written by Shakespeare." These views, he tells us, he adopts "in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, other than the literary connoisseurship which I very largely distrust." That is to say, Professor Pollard can see nothing of critical significance, as touching the authorship of *TITUS*, in the fact that it exhibits four traceable verse-styles which are not Shakespeare's, and not a scene traceable in verse-style to the Shakespeare of *KING JOHN* and *1 HENRY IV*. And here, it will be observed, Professor Pollard is under no discomfort from the ethical test—the test of the "matter"—which still perturbs him over *1 HENRY VI*. He finds *TITUS* Shakespearean.

And this is not really surprising, in view of the general attitude of recent academic scholarship on the vital issues of versification, rhythm, style, diction,



thought, and substance. "To this complexion they all come"—with a few hopeful exceptions. Mr Alexander quite decisively pronounces (p. 140), that *everything* in TITUS "favours its ascription to the youthful schoolmaster"; for he and Professor Pollard have oddly come to the decision that while most of the personal traditions about Shakespeare are worthless—a view which I have long maintained—the schoolmaster story is a very probable one. And while Professor Pollard simply avows his distrust of all literary connoisseurship Mr Alexander writes (p. 139): "What basis the æsthetic argument against TITUS can have *it is unnecessary to inquire*, till someone has been able to indicate it with something like completeness."

What Mr Alexander would regard as "something like completeness" it is of course impossible to divine from his varying practice; but at least the case has been put at considerable length, with an examination of the arguments against that course, and Mr Alexander duly ignores the whole. Needless to say, he equally ignores the whole published "æsthetic" and historical case against Shakespeare's origination of a dozen Folio plays demonstrably composite in style and matter, confining himself to a negative argument—at points not unskilful, though singularly evasive—against all æsthetic inference of authorship. Above all, he carefully abstains from any mention of HENRY VIII, as to which so many academics have rashly compromised their fealty to Heminge and Condell.

Such issues, though frequently discussed in the past, apparently without attracting the attention of Mr Alexander, will have to be further debated—with special attention to his unhappy theory (apparently derived, with others, from the late Dr John Semple Smart) that A SHREW is a mere piracy of THE SHREW, a theory which has led Professor Dover Wilson into such

disastrous self-contradiction. For the present I shall merely point out (1) the strangely absurd misconception embodied in his remark (p. 149), that "Mr Robertson's insistence upon the importance of his tests is perhaps a *half*-recognition of the real difficulty of his position." It is, I hope, known to some readers that in my first systematic work of investigation in regard to the authorship of the plays I stressed at the very outset the special difficulties incurred by the challenger of the traditional Canon as compared with the acceptors. I might broadly put it that the critical inquirer has innumerable difficulties in respect of his scientific aim, whereas the traditionists see no difficulties, because they see no differences.

The difficulties of the present inquiry into the Canon are not merely avowed at various points: they are sufficiently evidenced by the mere amount of labour that the task imposes. It is the business of the rational inquirer to give concrete reasons for his æsthetic and bibliographical inferences. The particular school of Mr Alexander are certainly under no similar burden, they having no æsthetic opinions to discuss, and, so far as I can gather, no perceptions of rhythm or style which could lead them to admit the need for æsthetic scrutiny. They have in fact no literary interests, properly so-called. The fact that apparently no recent academic has seen any of the style signs of Kyd in 1 HENRY VI is of incalculable significance. On the other hand, it is in fairness to be mentioned that Mr Alexander, like myself, though for very different reasons, is in conflict with certain academic editors and critics who do, however unsatisfactorily, expound æsthetic opinions. These last are dealt with in the following pages.

I must, however (2), take note here of the choice device by which Mr Alexander perhaps supposes himself

to escape all ethical difficulty about the responsibility which his theory ascribes to Shakespeare for the whole vile denigration of Joan of Arc in 1 HENRY VI. Professor Pollard, as we have seen, is troubled on that score. Mr Alexander is not. On the contrary, he undertakes to carry the war into the enemy's country.

Over the vital issue of Shakespeare's express testimony that the VENUS AND ADONIS (1593) was "the first heir of his invention," Mr Alexander not very cleverly argues that my interpretation of "the metaphorical phrase" as simply meaning what it says "must remain merely arbitrary," unless I can re-establish certain views of Malone's. The *non-sequitur* here is too crass for discussion. For his own part, Mr Alexander rather naïvely remarks that the phrase "*need*" mean no more than the first of his published works." But, perhaps conscious of having reached compromising positions, he reverts to an early passage of mine remarking on Shakespeare's practical attitude to life at his outset.

He thus reaches (pp. 208-9) the conclusions (a) that in *my* opinion "copiousness of utterance and financial pressure were the chief ingredients in genius," and (b) that *if* biographers are right in ascribing to Shakespeare a "thoroughly practical or commercial handling of life," *then* "Shakespeare was not only a man of business first and a poet afterwards, he was a hypocrite and rascal before he was a man of business." This pronouncement occurs in a work introduced by Professor Pollard, who has twice over (pp. 21, 22) remarked on Shakespeare's "business ability." The total absence of common sense from Mr Alexander's polemic at this point ought not to bar us from appreciating his strategy. If *he* is making Shakespeare not only a dissembler (as to "the first heir of my invention") but the dastardly calumniator of Joan of Arc, nonetheless—so he appears

to reason—he can convict his opponents of presenting a Shakespeare who was “a hypocrite and rascal before he was a man of business”! And if Professor Pollard is thus implicated, why, that is Professor Pollard’s look-out. .

It is clear that the cause at stake will not lose at Mr Alexander’s hands from scrupulosity. He has resources of dialectic denied to Professor Pollard, and the Professor is the more to be congratulated on his ally. Still there is always a risk that chicane may confound itself.

SECTION I  
THE COURSE OF CRITICISM  
CHAPTER I

THE GENERAL PROBLEM

Doubt as to Shakespeare's authorship of the HENRY VI plays begins overtly with Theobald, though it had probably existed long before. The simple fact that Meres makes no mention of them in his list of 1598, when one or all would better have fitted his list of six tragedies than does HENRY IV, must have suggested to some who had seen the list that so late as 1598 the plays were not reputed as Shakespeare's, though they must all have been then in existence, very much as they now stand.

Theobald (1733) makes no close inquiry. "Though," he writes<sup>1</sup> concerning the entire trilogy, "there are several master-strokes in these three plays, which incontestably betray the workmanship of Shakespeare, yet I am almost doubtful whether they were entirely of his writing. And unless they were wrote by him very early, I should rather imagine them to have been brought to him as a director of the stage, and so have received some finishing beauties at his hand. An accurate observer will readily see the diction of them is more obsolete, and the numbers more mean and prosaical than in the generality of his genuine compositions."

There is here little to sway assent, and it is not surprising that for generations the problem was little considered. Apart from the disputes of the early editors and commentators, there was little cultivation of æsthetic criticism in England in the first half of the

<sup>1</sup> Cited in the Variorum ed., 1821, vol. xviii, p. 3.

century save in classical directions. The anonymous writer (? William Benson) who wrote "Letters concerning Poetical Translations" in 1713, can have had few appreciative readers for his clear doctrine that pause-variation is a main part of the difference between great and ordinary verse, and he had no eye for Shakespeare. After the period of pseudo-classic dogmatism on French lines, indeed, there was a good deal of disesteem even for Shakespeare, on the lead of Bolingbroke and Shaftesbury; but in the second half of the century most men could apparently see in such a performance as the first Act of 3 HENRY VI the work of a great poet and dramatist, wincing at neither verse nor action. Capell, on not merely slender but unsound grounds, pronounced confidently for Shakespeare's authorship of Parts II and III; and Johnson professed to find the diction and versification of Shakespeare in all three. He had, of course, made no study of the pre-Shakespeareans.

The much more vigilant Farmer, indeed, observed that "HENRY THE SIXTH hath ever been doubted," adding, "I have no doubt but HENRY THE SIXTH had the same author with EDWARD THE THIRD." But he offered no proof. Nor did Maurice Morgann when, in his stimulating essay on Falstaff (1777), he contemptuously dismissed "that Drum-and-Trumpet Thing called *The first part of Henry VI*, written doubtless, or rather exhibited, long before Shakespeare was born<sup>1</sup>—a chronological guess bad enough to discredit the verdict as a whole. Morgann was no documentist.<sup>2</sup>

It is with Malone's "Dissertation on the Three Parts of King Henry VI" (1787: rep. in Variorum ed.) that critical scrutiny begins. As he avows, he had long shared the current view that the FIRST PART OF THE CONTENTION OF THE HOUSES OF YORK AND LANCASTER and the TRUE TRAGEDIE OF RICHARD DUKE OF YORK (commonly spoken of as the Two Parts of the CON-

<sup>1</sup> *Essay on the Dramatic Character of Falstaff*, ed. Gill, 1912, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> That there was an actors' play on the subject before the blank-versers took it up is indeed very likely. But even that is not to be dated long before 1564.

TENTION) were but corrupted copies of the corresponding plays in the Folio, and that I HENRY VI was, with them, Shakespeare's work. It was on a careful re-study of the old quarto texts in collation with those of the Folio that he came to the conclusion that the former were non-Shakespearean; that Parts II and III of HENRY VI were merely revisions by Shakespeare; and that Part I was wholly pre-Shakespearean, save for a few possible touches. He further decided that Part I could not have been written by the "author" of the two Contention plays, any more than by Shakespeare.

The latter judgment was grounded on the incompatibilities of historic statement in the three plays. In Scene iv of Act III of Part I, he points out, Henry VI speaks of recalling his father's talk, whereas in Parts II and III he speaks of himself as having been made a King at nine months old. The passage in Part II, however, being lacking in the CONTENTION, its foundation play, he merely ascribes that speech to Shakespeare, while insisting that Part I was written *neither* by the author of RICHARD DUKE OF YORK, where the correct statement *is* made, nor by Shakespeare. Other conflicting assertions in the plays are similarly cited to show that neither Shakespeare nor the author of the CONTENTION or of RICHARD DUKE OF YORK can have been author of I HENRY VI.

This argument was unpropitious to a sound discussion of the problem, inasmuch as by positing a sole "author" for each of the pre-Shakespearean plays it excluded the reasonable hypothesis that they may have been works of collaboration or adaptation, in which, whether at the same point of time or in recasts, different contributors made incompatible historical statements. The fact that incompatible statements are made in JULIUS CÆSAR does not seem to have suggested to Malone any misgivings as to that play. And yet another possibility had been overlooked. All chronicle plays being liable to severe criticism by readers of the chronicles, such as the writer who is quoted by Halliwell-Phillipps in his introduction to the N.S.S. (1843) edition of the CONTENTION

plays,<sup>1</sup> historical mistakes might be pointed out to an author, who in a later play of a series might correct them. Malone himself argues that Shakespeare, when revising (as 3 HENRY VI) RICHARD DUKE OF YORK, was unaware that it erred on one historic point, which he put right later in RICHARD III.

For the rest, Malone undoubtedly makes out a strong case against the Shakespearean authorship of any of the three plays. Though he thoughtlessly takes for granted that all improvements on, or expansions of, the old plays in the text of Parts II and III were due to Shakespeare, he rightly insists that the many passages in the old plays *not* represented by anything in the Folio cannot reasonably be ascribed to copyists or shorthand writers, as had been in effect assumed by the holders of the traditionist theory. He usefully insisted, further, on the obvious differences between the manner and diction of the old plays, especially of Part I, and the admitted early work of Shakespeare; the extreme abundance in them of classical, mythological and historical allusions; and the non-Shakespearean character of the versification.

In this connection he makes his only critical reference to the fact of the line-ended character of the verse of the pre-Shakespearean plays; but he lays a trap for his successors by noting the scarcity of double-endings in blank-verse when Shakespeare "commenced author," without noting that as early as 1590 or 1591 their employment had been carried some way by pre-Shakespeareans. Inasmuch as 1 HENRY VI has almost exactly the same total percentage as TITUS, which Malone reckoned spurious, the inference is so far against its authenticity; but inasmuch as both have many more double-endings than the early plays sampled by him, it could be argued that they stood for a new hand, and that the new hand might be Shakespeare's.

By including, again, SOLIMAN AND PERSEDA among the plays which conformed to the early type, he further confused the issue as to versification, since that piece has in parts rather high percentages of double-endings;

<sup>1</sup> As cited, p. xxxvi n.



and by lumping the works of Lodge and Greene, with SELIMUS, TITUS, and the SPANISH TRAGEDY, as marked by a versification "so *exactly* corresponding with that of" I HENRY VI and the old foundation quartos "that I have no doubt these plays were the production of [? the author of] *some one or other* of the pieces above quoted or enumerated," he fatally revealed the inadequacy of his æsthetic sense.<sup>1</sup>

With this inadequacy we must connect his failure to realise the differences of hands in all the plays of the trilogy. In the DISSERTATION he had hazarded the guess that Greene's death-bed attack on Shakespeare pointed to the authorship of the CONTENTION and RICHARD DUKE OF YORK by Greene and Peele. In the final form of his essay on the Chronological Order of the Folio plays<sup>2</sup> he corrected this, noting that the words of Greene on which he had founded "manifestly relate equally to the *three* persons previously addressed, and allude to the theatrical compositions of Marlowe, Lodge, Peele and Greene"; and noting an echo of EDWARD II in RICHARD DUKE OF YORK, he reasonably inclined to think Marlowe the author of that play, and *perhaps* also of the CONTENTION. As to I HENRY VI, however, he remained to the last impercipient, though there also he might have found obvious Marlowisms in the opening speech. "By whom it was written," he finally pronounces, "it is now, I fear, impossible to ascertain."

The reception given to Malone's DISSERTATION is typical of the fortunes of most attempts to clear up the problems of the Canon. While Porson, who was not a specialist, pronounced it "one of the most convincing pieces of criticism he had ever met with," Steevens, who was a specialist, at once fell back on the Imitation Theory, in the very act of repeating his own remarkable comment on the first issue of Malone's essay on the Chronology, to the effect that one day recovered docu-

<sup>1</sup> Incisively remarked upon by Ingram, N.S.S. Transactions, 1874, Part II, p. 443.

<sup>2</sup> First published in 1778; final form 1821, in Variorum ed.

ments may prove that Shakespeare "did not attempt a single play on any subject" till it had been wholly or partly tried on the stage by other men. Steevens was of all the Variorum men probably the most minutely familiar with Elizabethan drama and literature; and Malone's thesis was one to which he was in effect committed on the general ground mentioned. Yet, as Boswell pointed out, he balanced between that and the contrary position.

This is not to be ascribed to the defects of Malone's essay. Had it been stronger it would have fared no better. Steevens's recurrent jealousy of Malone checked a response to a largely sound demonstration; and he played into the hands of the natural conservatives, who are always temperamentally averse from reconsidering a tradition. The younger Boswell, a juster if a less learned judge, assented to Malone's case with discriminations; and, pointing out almost for the first time the superiority of Marlowe's versification to that of the other pre-Shakespeareans, recognised that Marlowe might have a share in all three of the HENRY VI plays, though he had not written the whole of them.

From Boswell we have, finally, the sound proposition: "That Marlowe, Peele and Greene may all of them have had a share in these dramas, is consonant to the frequent practice of that age, of which ample proofs may be found in the extracts from Henslowe's MSS." On that basis the discussion might usefully have proceeded, though the general failure to detect Kyd meant impercipience; but there has never been any such steady progression in discussion of this kind as may be generally looked for in the work of the sciences. There were no students competent and willing to carry on the exploration.

Nathan Drake, indeed, made in 1828 the creditable declaration that he did not believe Shakespeare wrote a line of TITUS or 1 HENRY VI, or any of the apocryphal plays extolled by Schlegel;<sup>1</sup> and gave the same testimony as against the reproach of Villemain, concerning Joan of

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials of Shakspeare* (otherwise *Shakspeareana*), 1828, p. 213 n.

Arc;<sup>1</sup> but Drake, in his turn, made no such detailed analysis as might carry his point. Even when the two really expert students of versification, W. Sidney Walker (1854) and Charles Bathurst (1856), gave their verdicts confidently for Malone's general results, rejecting altogether 1 HENRY VI, they were ignored, and for the general reader out-talked by men of no æsthetic qualification, such as Charles Knight and Thomas Kenny. Literary tests were not sought for; and the necessary collations were not made. Apart from the discussions of the New Shakspeare Society in the seventies, which were at best inadequate and inconclusive, the problem has been confusedly handled till 1926, as indeed it was then; and the apparent advance towards the rectification of the canon by Malone has been substantially lost, between the inertia of unstudious orthodoxy and the reactionary efforts of critics either insensitive to the æsthetic data or afraid of committing themselves to innovating verdicts. Malone himself, indeed, by stubbornly refusing to listen to new suggestions for the revision of the canon, nourished the inertia which barred the active study of his own; and the outcome was both editorial and academic reaction all along the line, with indecisive revivals of criticism. It is only in 1926, with the issue of Dr. Allison Gaw's study<sup>2</sup> on "The Origin and Development of 1 HENRY VI, in relation to Shakespeare, Marlowe, Peele and Greene," that a prospect of a scientific handling of the problem emerges; and before we come to criticism of that able but still little-known treatise, we have to clear the ground of a multitude of still current errors.

Critics like Charles Knight, always clinging affectionately and uncritically to the whole canon at any cost of discredit to Shakespeare, or unable to see that any discredit was involved, took up the old position that the foundation plays of Parts II and III, published in 1594-5, are themselves the work of Shakespeare, and that in the

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials of Shakspeare* (otherwise *Shakspeareana*), 1828, p. 238 n.

<sup>2</sup> No. 1 of First Series of University of Southern California Studies. Los Angeles, 1926. The essay had been begun in 1919, and partly presented to an academic audience in 1920.

plays as we have them in the Folio he did but correct and revise his own work. Knight, with a fine disregard of the documentary history, argued that, if this were not so, Shakespeare was the most dishonest of "plagiarists"—as if *he* had ever claimed the authorship of the HENRY VI plays. Apart from that paralogism, which could have been framed only by a one-idea'd devotee, for whom any semblance of argument served, Knight's was merely the view prevailing before Malone, and, like most theories which ascribed to Shakespeare inferior work, it had been held by "the Germans generally."<sup>1</sup>

In modification of this view (to say nothing here of the investigation by Miss Jane Lee in the seventies, which will be discussed in the next division), we have that held by the Cambridge editors, by Halliwell-Phillipps, and by Professor Ward, that Shakespeare had "an incidental share" in the old plays; or, as Professor Ward thinks may be more likely, that passages in the quartos were "borrowed for use" from 2 and 3 HENRY VI, "as then performed on the stage."<sup>2</sup> The extreme and the modified view alike are in collision at the very outset with the fact, put by Malone, that the CONTENTION and the DUKE OF YORK were acted by a company (Pembroke's), in which (as he held) Shakespeare had no concern, and that even the revisions as we have them in the Folio "are not known to have been acted by his own company."<sup>3</sup>

Seeing, then, that the foundation quartos<sup>4</sup> were *not* printed as Shakespeare's, and that Meres makes no mention either of them or of any HENRY VI play, the external evidence is here heavily against the ascription of the foundation plays to Shakespeare; and we have

<sup>1</sup> Fleay, *Manual*, p. 43; Ward, ii, 63-64.

<sup>2</sup> Ward, ii, 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, p. 69. The "not known" is of course a forensic position. It could only be for his own company that Shakespeare did any revision. The recent view that Shakespeare was a member of the Pembroke company rests on the assumption that he *had* a share in the original *Henry VI* plays.

<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that the original edition of the *True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York* is really *not* a quarto, but a small octavo. (See Halliwell-Phillipps's introduction to the N.S.S. reprints of the *Contention* and *True Tragedie*, 1843, pp. v, ix, and in Hazlitt's *Shakespeare Library*, Vol. V, p. 385.) But it is convenient to follow the usage of labelling the old plays Q, as does Mr. Hart in his "Arden" editions of the HENRY VI plays.

only the Folio ascription for the three HENRY VI plays so called. In this case, then, the fitness of an appeal to internal evidence is sufficiently clear.

It would probably be vain to challenge the literary sense of the traditionists by asking whether they can believe that the author of the DREAM and JOHN and I HENRY IV could in the same period open a play with the flatly shuffling verse of the first scene of Part II, or plan the puerile action of the first scene of Part III. Men wont to read these things as Shakespearean have no subjective measure to apply, and will simply retort that Shakespeare is unequal, and must be taken as we find him. The insuperable external evidence against them they ignore; the internal they have not perceived. It is, however, for those who would read Shakespeare with scholarly intelligence to face the question whether the sheer diction and versification of nearly the whole of the trilogy are not as impossible even for the young Shakespeare as they are visibly possible for contemporaries of his days of apprenticeship

## CHAPTER II

### THE STUDY OF PART I

#### § I. COLERIDGE, FLEAY, HART, TUCKER BROOKE

Though the three Parts hang together, it will conduce to clearness if we first examine separately the FIRST PART OF HENRY VI, which stands apart as having no known source or predecessor. It has been rejected as either primarily or wholly non-Shakespearean by a large number of editors and critics, including Warburton, Malone, Drake, Hallam, Dyce, Grant White (in effect), Coleridge, Fleay (excepting the Talbot scenes), and Swinburne and Furnivall (excepting the Roses scene).<sup>1</sup> Coleridge's verdict is worth noting :—

Read aloud any two or three passages in blank verse, even from Shakespeare's earliest dramas, as *Love's Labour's Lost* or *Romeo and Juliet*, and then read in the same way this speech [the first in *1 Henry VI*], with especial attention to the metre ; and if you do not feel the impossibility of the latter having been written by Shakespeare, all I dare suggest is, that you may have ears—for so has another animal—but an ear you cannot have, *me judice*.<sup>2</sup>

This appeal to the sense of rhythm and the sense of style<sup>3</sup> has been largely assented to, though it is ignored by Mr. H. C. Hart in his much-laboured edition in the "Arden" series. Swinburne, while confidently assigning to Shakespeare the Roses scene and the Talbot death scenes, was "certain that he cannot have written the opening scene."<sup>4</sup> To the hand of Marlowe the play has been assigned by Hallam and Dyce ; and Fleay

<sup>1</sup> This scene also Fleay assigned to Shakespeare in his earlier days, but he seems to abandon the view later. See below, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare*, Bohn ed., p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> Coleridge's indiscriminate citation of *Romeo and Juliet* in mass, of course, does not strengthen his case, as there is Marlovian and other non-Shakespearean verse there. But he was doubtless thinking of particular parts.

<sup>4</sup> *A Study of Shakespeare*, ed. 1918, p. 33.

in his *MANUAL* (1876) presented an assignment which must have perplexed many, as it long did the present writer, so strangely did it contradict itself by assigning given scenes to different hands. The solution had, however, been published in the following year, in the *INTRODUCTION TO SHAKESPEAREAN STUDY*, produced by Fleay for Collins's series of "School and College Classics," which, unfortunately, had a much smaller circulation than the *MANUAL*, and was missed by many of us:—

"The division of this play" (he writes concerning *I HENRY VI*) "given in my article on *Henry VI* in *Macmillan's Magazine*, and thoughtlessly copied into my *Shakespeare Manual*, was printed from a slip prepared for a different purpose, through a mistake of mine. It is, of course, quite wrong."

His *MANUAL*, he now explains in his preface, had been stereotyped by the publishers without his knowledge, and his corrections were thus barred. In the former book he had divided the play mainly between Lodge and Marlowe. Now he assigns to Peele, *i*, *iii*, and *iii*, *i*,<sup>1</sup> and parts of *v*, *i*; to Marlowe all the other scenes down to *iii*, *i*; to Shakespeare the Talbot death scenes and *v*, *ii*, also *ii*, *iv*, *v*; and to Marlowe "altered, possibly, by Lodge or Nash," *iii*, *iv*; *iv*, *i*, and parts of Act *v*. But plain perplexities remain. In the *MANUAL* we have: "Shakespeare wrote *ii*, *iv*; and perhaps *ii*, *v*; whereas in the *INTRODUCTION* we have: "*ii*, *iv*, *v*, being probably of much later date, and inserted by Shakespeare." That is to say, the Mortimer death scene (*ii*, *v*) is bracketed with the Roses scene, though it has only 3 per cent. of double endings as against the 28 per cent. in the previous scene. In the *MANUAL* we read, further, that "possibly" Shakespeare, "in his very early time, but more likely Lodge, wrote *iv*, *ii-vii* [Talbot death scenes] and *v*, *ii*. In the *INTRODUCTION* (whereas Marlowe in the *MANUAL* had been credited with *i*, *i*; *i*, *iii*; *iii*, *i*), Peele is "I think, the author of *i*, *i*, to *iii*, *iii*";<sup>2</sup> and Marlowe gets all the rest. A hasty assignment was thus

<sup>1</sup> The content or theme of the separate scenes may be conveniently referred to by the reader in the conspectus given in our Summary, Chapter V.

<sup>2</sup> On this there is an unintelligible parenthesis even in the *INTRODUCTION*.

hastily altered, leaving the matter badly unsettled, though not, perhaps, quite so hopelessly as before.

In his *LIFE OF SHAKESPEARE*, accordingly, Fleay makes fresh assignments, again with miscarriages. After a historical analysis, which shows that the play covers a period of thirty years, he deductively assigns to writer A the Scenes I, i-iii, and III, i, observing that the time-limits of his scenes are 1422 and 1426. Yet even here there is confusion, for in the historical table A is credited with episodes of 1429; and writer B is assigned I, ii, iii, iv, v, vi; II, i, ii, iii; III, iv; IV, i, dealing with events between 1427 and 1430. A is now confidently declared to be Marlowe; B, "not easy to identify," may be either Greene or Kyd. The Mortimer scene is now said to be "manifestly" by Marlowe. Act III, Scenes ii and iii, time 1435, is assigned to writer C, who is conjectured to be Peele. "Group D, v, ii-v, is made up of the Joan of Arc story of 1430-1 and the Margaret match of 1443. . . . The author of these scenes is *without doubt* Thomas Lodge. . . ." Further, "Group E, iv, ii-vii, which is concerned only with Talbot's last fight near Bourdeaux in 1452," is still assigned to Shakespeare—a judgment assented to by Swinburne and Furnivall, and latterly by H. C. Hart.

It is clear that the true chronology of events that have been wildly misplaced in the drama can be no clue to the authorship of the sections. For that we must rely on critical analysis. Equally untrustworthy are the clues supplied by the spelling of proper names. Anyone who has studied contemporary prose texts or exact reprints knows that some authors, such as Greene, either spell or are made to spell the same word differently on the same page; and names were about as loosely handled as other words. But there *are* bibliographical aids. The most important part of Fleay's argument is the really convincing<sup>1</sup> demonstration that the Talbot scenes, iv, ii-vii, were not part of the original play:—

"The scenes in the Folio are not divided in Acts I, II; in the other Acts they are. Acts III and IV, i coincide with the

<sup>1</sup> Albeit rejected by Dr Gaw.



modern division; but v, i, of the modern editors, is iv, ii, in the Folio; and v, v, in the Folio is the whole fifth Act. Here then is the play completed without iv, ii-vii, *which are not numbered at all*. It is plain that they were written subsequently to the rest of the play and inserted at a revival. They had to be inserted in such a manner as not to break the connection between this play and 2 HENRY VI, and were put in the most convenient place, regardless of historic sequence." Finally, "the scene II, iv [quarrel of the roses] has long been recognised as so far superior to the rest of the play as to be *probably* due to the hand of Shakespeare *at a later date, c. 1597-8.*"<sup>1</sup>

A writer who so suggestively guides us in our studies is not to be reproached for yet again modifying his views. In his BIOGRAPHICAL CHRONICLE Fleay silently drops Lodge, and, saying nothing in this connection of Kyd, divides the non-Shakespearean bulk of the play among Marlowe, Greene,<sup>2</sup> and Peele, still assigning the Talbot scenes probably to Shakespeare, but suggestively saying nothing of the Roses scene. Such variations will probably surprise no one who has tentatively and independently attempted similar assignments, though it is to be hoped that the time is now passed for the publication of such guesswork. To reach anything more exact than a guess, however, we must apply a variety of tests; and while Fleay is notably fertile in *ad hoc* tests, he has left us to apply some more watchfully in regard to this play. An impatient intuitionism was his foible in his text-studies, though he toiled tirelessly over his great chronological research.

Fleay, then, after suggesting successively Lodge and Kyd, limits himself to Greene and Peele as Marlowe's collaborators, before Shakespeare. He had named Lodge on the strength of the tag "cooling card," which he supposed to be special to Lodge—a precarious ground for certitude. Presumably he discovered, after stating that it could not be traced in Greene, some of the frequent uses of it in that writer's prose.<sup>3</sup> But he need not have

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Work of Shakespeare*, 1886, pp. 255-63.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. H. C. Hart errs surprisingly in saying (Introd. to *1 Henry VI*, p. xlvii) that Fleay makes "no mention" of Greene in assigning the play. He mentions him in the *Life* and definitely credits him in the *Biographical Chronicle* with a share in the play.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Hart (Introd. to *1 Henry VI*, p. xix) notes that Greene "made it a sort of hall-mark." But Lodge has it also.

absolutely dropped even Lodge on that score, and he erred seriously in dropping Kyd. If we are to have a right to either a positive or a negative opinion, we must consider the chances that any one of the pre-Shakespeareans, including Nashe, *may* have had a hand in 1 HENRY VI; and that one of the later group may have patched it. Lodge had left England in 1591; but he might have had a hand in 1 HENRY VI before that year.

To begin with, there is internal evidence that the play as we have it was written at different periods; and Fleay's main service is to prepare us to see it as a piece which in 1592 was revived and largely recast. Malone rightly dwells on the monotonous regularity of the end-stopped verse of the early plays of the Kyd-Peele-Greene school; but he does not note the significant fact that in one or two scenes of 1 HENRY VI the number of "redundant syllables" is very high. In the Roses scene (II, iv), assigned by Fleay (at first) and Furnivall and Swinburne to Shakespeare, with the unreserved support of Hart and Dr. Gaw, the proportion reaches 28 per cent.<sup>1</sup>—a figure notably high for any of the pre-Shakespeareans, but, on the other hand, impossible for Shakespeare as early as 1592, at which date we find Nashe describing this play in respect of its Talbot scenes.

Fleay, as has been noted, finally adhered to the "early" Shakespeare for the Talbot scenes; but silently dropped the ascription to Shakespeare of the Roses scene. He had presumably recognised, first, that if the Roses scene be Shakespeare's, it must be put late in respect of the double-endings. But even 1597-8 is not late enough on that score; and, on the other hand, the *style* is impossible for Shakespeare in 1598, if it ever was possible for him. There are only eight lines that run on in 124 of blank-verse, a thing impossible for Shakespeare at any stage, and a lower percentage (6.4) than even that of the SHREW (9.5). Nothing that is certainly his, in fact, is written in that *manner*, to say nothing of the diction. This Fleay presumably realised on later reflec-

<sup>1</sup> This, I think, is correct. Dr. Gaw reaches a lower figure, partly by counting all the lines of the scene as blank-verse, whereas ten are in rhyme.

tion; and if he were alive to-day he would probably assent to a positive denial that the *Roses* scene is Shakespeare's.

Mr. H. C. Hart, who embodies in his introduction to the "*Arden*" edition of the play so much useful and independent research concerning vocabulary, and who (like Fleay in his *LIFE*) unreservedly assigns the *Roses* scene to Shakespeare,<sup>1</sup> says nothing whatever in this connection of the metrical test. To that test he alludes only to disparage it. Justly claiming importance for a notation of word-history, he proceeds to claim that

*some* such methods will prove more reliable in coming to a knowledge of the chronological position and sequence of literary compositions, and of their authors even, than any other internal test, not excepting metrical ones, which often break down and seldom extend past the field of a single writer's own work, except in unsettled boundaries.<sup>2</sup>

But if it be a question of fixing the date of any portion of 1 HENRY VI, Mr. Hart's own tests, if such they can be called, "break down," for he has reached by them no chronological determination.<sup>3</sup> Word-histories are useless there. On the other hand, it is quite sufficient for our chronological purposes here that the main metrical test *should* hold only for "the field of a single writer's own work." Apply it to the single field of Shakespeare, and it upsets once for all Mr. Hart's assignment. He expressly places this play as Shakespeare's "earliest work, with a date of about 1589-90."<sup>4</sup> On what critical principle, then, can we assign to Shakespeare at his very outset a scene almost wholly in line-ended blank-verse, with a far higher proportion of double-endings than is to be found in any of the received dramatic<sup>5</sup> work of the pre-

<sup>1</sup> *Introd.* cited, p. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xlii.

<sup>3</sup> It has been the more irksome to me to criticise so many of Mr. Hart's conclusions throughout this inquiry because he has made some friendly allusions to my own work—a thing to be gratefully acknowledged. But I was in duty bound to remain judicial here.

<sup>4</sup> *Introd.*, p. xi. Later, however (p. xxv), he puts the reservation: "excepting only his share in the *First Part of the Contention*." So vacillating was the critic to the last.

<sup>5</sup> The high rate of double-endings in Marlowe's version of *Lucan* is of course the decisive clue to his development in drama.

Shakespeareans, and also higher than is found in any of the accepted Shakespeare plays down to HAMLET?

Fatal to Fleay's original chronology, the metrical test is still more fatal to that of Mr. Hart. Fleay, like most of the older critics, would give Shakespeare some time to get into or yield to the habit of double-endings; and so would fain (at first) put his work in 1 HENRY VI later than the first comedies. Even this is bewildering enough. Shakespeare is made to begin with very few double-endings and much rhyme; then, at a bound, to multiply double-endings and abandon rhyme; then again, in ROMEO AND JULIET, to revert to the early blank-verse form, with abundant indulgence in rhyme. But on Mr. Hart's view Shakespeare *begins* as dramatist by writing a blank-verse varying between the average 5 to 10 per cent. of double-endings and a percentage of 28, ignoring rhyme for the most part, as did Marlowe at his outset, but employing it largely in some scenes; further doing this notably in RICHARD II; whereafter he recommences tragedy in ROMEO AND JULIET with only two superfluous syllables in the 190 blank lines of the first scene, with none in Mercutio's speech on Queen Mab, and with an abundance of rhyme in Act after Act. If we are to be asked to believe in such an acrobatic evolution, we ought to have some reasons for it; and not only are they not offered, it is apparently not realised that any solution is called for. We must frame our theory with an eye at once to double-endings, end-stopped rhythm, pause-variation, and style in general.

Such dilemmas, one submits, cannot be merely evaded. Mr. Hart brands as "an unhappy guess" Fleay's suggestion of a much later date and insertion for the Roses scene.<sup>1</sup> But Fleay here had regard, in all probability, to the very phenomenon of double-endings which Mr. Hart "unhappily" ignores. Refusing to ignore a fact so vital, and noting the end-stopped rhythm and the relative crudity of the diction, we are

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hart writes: "Shakespeare's parts"—that is, of the entire play. But Fleay, I think, always placed the Talbot scenes in 1592, as early work of Shakespeare's. They are fixed to that year by Nashe's account of them.

compelled to conclude, as against him, that the *Roses* scene is simply not Shakespeare's at all, and that it must be late even for Marlowe.

Can we then assign to Shakespeare the Talbot death-scenes, which we have seen to be additions to the original play? Fleay seems to have had no special ground for the ascription beyond that general notion of "power" which has served so many critics as the sole light whereby to distribute the *HENRY VI* plays. In this code, as Fleay himself once put it to the present writer, any matter that was apparently not quite good enough for even the young Shakespeare might be credited to Marlowe; and what was too bad for Marlowe might be given to Greene or Peele. We can no longer deal in such verdicts, though a certain total impression of "power" remains an important æsthetic determinant. The Talbot death-scenes must be subjected to all the available tests; and the unanalysed sense of power, which in this case proceeds mainly on uncritical reading, must be corrected by style analysis.

To begin with, the scenes are partly in blank-verse and partly in rhyme; and in the first (IV, ii), there are nine double-endings in the 36 lines up to the first rhyme, that is, 25 per cent. In the next scene there are 27 lines of blank-verse before we come to rhyme, and here again there are seven double-endings, nearly 26 per cent. Yet again, in Scene iv, in 42 lines of blank-verse there are ten double-endings, or nearly 24 per cent. Shakespeare, who has only 5.1 per cent. in *I HENRY IV*, 6.3 per cent. in *JOHN*, and 7.3 in the *DREAM*, had never approached these high percentages in whole scenes as early as 1592, unless we are to decide that it was he who, after putting only three double-endings in the 153 lines of the first scene of the *COMEDY OF ERRORS*, put 25 in the 103 lines of the second, and produced the whole independently as early as 1591. Critical common sense rejects such a theory on the strongest æsthetic grounds: the second scene in the *ERRORS* (*pace* Dr. Gaw) cannot have been written by Shakespeare before 1592 in respect of its double-endings; and as the lines are

nearly all end-stopped as well as quite prosaic, they cannot have been written by him in the period in which he reached a percentage above 20. The first scene is his; the second is not. Here the line-ended rhythm test confirms us in the opinion reached by the metrical or double-ending test; and the style-test clinches all.

The metrical test, then, bars us from assigning the blank-verse of the Talbot death-scenes to Shakespeare in 1592, when we must hold them to have been produced, even as it prohibits us to assign to him the Roses scene. Does the style-test, then, clash with the other at this point? Certainly the blank-verse of the second, third and fourth scenes of the fourth Act is, merely as verse, among the best in the play. Such lines as

But if you frown upon this proffer'd peace,  
You tempt the fury of my three attendants,  
Lean famine, quartering steel, and climbing fire,

might perhaps pass for Shakespearean; but these:

Ten thousand French have ta'en the sacrament  
To rive their dangerous artillery  
Upon no Christian soul but English Talbot,

have not at all that quality for those whose standard is pitched by the undisputed as apart from the disputed plays. Mr. Hart in his notes contents himself with hyperbolical praise of the "rive" line as eminently Shakespearean,<sup>1</sup> though that word never occurs elsewhere with this force in the concordance, and the item about the sacrament is admittedly a historical commonplace. Such a judgment, surely, cannot stand. "Rive," as it happens, with this apparent force, is a Marlowe word.<sup>2</sup> The verse of the scenes named is much *more* nervously powerful than that of the great bulk of *TITUS ANDRONICUS*, which of course is wholly non-Shakespearean; but with what tragical verse of Shakespeare's before 1592 shall we compare it? The

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Allison Gaw, I regret to say, coincides. In the normal sense of "split" the word occurs in *Loocrine* and *Selimus*, and has nothing "Shakespearean" about it.

<sup>2</sup> Trans. of Ovid's *Elegies*, II, xvi, 3.

best of it is in fact better than the *similar* (end-stopped) verse of HENRY V, apart from the prologues: only in 1 HENRY IV do we find equivalent concision of diction—with, as it happens, a far finer style and a far lower percentage of double-endings. By the test of sheer single-line force, in short, having regard to the date, we should be led to assign the scenes in question, not to Shakespeare, but to Marlowe. Mr. Hart's general negative on this head must be dismissed as wholly arbitrary. A long line of critics have seen pure Marlowe in the opening scene; and the relative energy of the end-stopped verse here and elsewhere is of a kind *not* specially characteristic of the young Shakespeare, while it *is* characteristic of the Marlowe of THE JEW OF MALTA and EDWARD II.

But in the Talbot rhymed scenes, which have energy in their kind, there are other qualities which quite definitely exclude any inference that they were penned by Shakespeare as an addition, so late as 1592. These rhymed scenes, which on slight documentary grounds so many critics have felt constrained to assign to Shakespeare, are really so poor in the finer qualities of diction and feeling, with all their crude energy, that even Mr. Hart is moved to confess as much at the end of Scene vi:—

The foregoing Scene *falls to a lower level than the rest of this Act*, unless it be regarded as matched by the following. But this one in particular wears an air of superfluity, and in connection with the retrograde introduction of rhymes, *the falling off in Shakespearean language*, and the renewed reminders of Greene, the remark seems justifiable, although Talbot's death scene [rhymed] is undeniably Shakespeare's own.

Now, Scene vii is no better than Scene vi, and we are thus left with the dogmatic judgment that work which, despite its popular appeal, is in literary quality below that of many other parts of the play, "is undeniably Shakespeare's own." Such unsupported dogmatism—for no stylistic discrimination is attempted—discredits itself. Many readers, probably, will agree with the present writer in positively denying that the scenes

in question are Shakespeare's at all, though perhaps many will still share Dr. Gaw's conviction that they are by Peele. But the true task of criticism is to find reasons for its judgments; and this has already been undertaken as regards the Talbot scenes, in Part II of *The Shakespeare Canon*, in connection with the problem of RICHARD II. The rhyming verse *there* is often closely akin to that of the Talbot scenes, and to trace the latter is substantially to trace the former. This was probably the real motive for the ascription of the Talbot scenes to Shakespeare by so many critics of good standing. But when we make a truly inductive study of the rhymed matter in either play without regard to the tradition, the case settles itself. Only after weighing all the apparent possibilities as to Peele, Greene, and Chettle did I come perforce to the conclusion that the Talbot scenes are simply an addition by Marlowe to the earlier form of a play which was probably of his original planning, though he had in it, then and later, collaborators; and though there was probably an old "actors' play" on the subject.

The main dissuasion from such a conclusion was an uncritical acceptance of Swinburne's apparent assumption that "jigging veins of rhyming mother wits" in the prologue to TAMBURLAINE had reference not only to the old "fourteener" but to couplet verse. But that assumption is untenable. The matter has but to be scrutinised in order to see that this cannot have been Marlowe's meaning. He was certainly referring solely to the old "fourteener" or other archaic verse, actually described as "jigging." His own frequent use of couplets even in his earliest work excludes the idea that he held couplets in contempt, even if we set aside HERO AND LEANDER as giving no clue to his dramatic theory. And a careful study of the rhymed work in the TROUBLESOME RAIGNE OF KING JOHN, in RICHARD II, and in the Talbot scenes, leads to the conclusion that he resorted to rhyme more or less freely in his stage work. Specific clues of phrase and vocabulary in the Talbot scenes point to him no less definitely than the diction and



movement, as is the case so often in the blank-verse of this play and in RICHARD II.

Since the preparation of Mr. Hart's edition (published in 1909 but presumably completed in 1908) the most notable pronouncements upon 1 HENRY VI, prior to the important treatise of Dr. Allison Gaw (which 'we shall have to discuss closely at a later stage), have been that of Dr. Tucker Brooke, who definitely assigns it to Peele,<sup>1</sup> surmising only a late revision by Shakespeare, and that of Professor Quincy Adams, who confidently endorses that ascription, with the sole reservation that Peele was "possibly assisted by Robert Greene," saying no word of Marlowe.<sup>2</sup> These verdicts (with which may be bracketed Dr. Tucker Brooke's equally summary ascription of EDWARD III to Peele in his edition of THE SHAKESPEARE APOCRYPHA, 1908), strongly impress on the critical student the need for a scrupulous revision, by intelligible and reasoned tests, of the whole series of more or less arbitrary pronouncements to which we have been listening. Professor Quincy Adams mentions that before the appearance of Dr. Tucker Brooke's edition his own study of the authorship of 1 HENRY VI led him to the same conclusion; but he offers no criticism or rebuttal of the opinion of the various writers who have connected the play with Marlowe, and attempts no development of his faint surmise that Peele may have been "assisted by Greene"; which in turn, he mistakenly asserts,<sup>3</sup> is countered by Churton Collins's editorial verdict that Greene had no share in the trilogy. We are thus left with a babel of untested contradictions.

It is necessary at the outset to clear away one assumption by Dr. Tucker Brooke which fatally facilitates his attributions, but is in itself quite illicit. The

<sup>1</sup> Ed. of 1 *Henry VI* in the Yale Shakespeare Series, 1908. Dr. Brooke does not, I think, found on Fleay's assignment of the opening scene and III, 1, to Peele in 1877.

<sup>2</sup> *A Life of William Shakespeare*, 1923, pp. 136-7, 187 n., 214.

<sup>3</sup> P. 136 n. Collins is as confused as anybody; but in the passage (ed. of Greene, i, 68-69) cited by Professor Adams he is writing not of Part I but of Parts II and III of the trilogy. After asserting that nothing adduced by Miss Jane Lee from Greene "at all strengthens her case," he avows that "the balance of probability appears to me to incline in favour of Greene having had a hand" in *Parts II and III*.

author of *I HENRY VI*, he contends (p. 151), is a popular "exponent of jingoistic national pride, a trait of which Marlowe shows absolutely nothing, and Greene hardly more." Here, evidently, we have the clue to Dr. Brooke's strange ascription of *EDWARD III* to Peele. He has staked all on his theory of Peele as the one available "jingo" in the group. The illicit character of the inference will be at once seen when we note that in Marlowe's accepted and collected plays—apart from *EDWARD II*, where the theme is an unheroic King, angrily resisted—there is no normal English historical element, and therefore no natural pretext or *occasion* for effusive patriotic feeling. In the case of Greene, Dr. Brooke commits an error which at once impeaches his induction. Precisely where Greene has an occasion or opportunity for display of "jingoistic national pride"—in *FRIAR BACON* and in *JAMES IV*—he *does* openly manipulate it. The general assumption thus collapses.

We now see that in the case of Marlowe, Dr. Brooke argues in a circle. Because the accepted non-English plays reveal no national pride (though it is implicit in *EDWARD II*), Dr. Brooke will not assign to him any share in *EDWARD III* or in the old *RAIGNE OF KING JOHN*, desperately ascribing the former to Peele, only *because* Peele is jingoistic in his signed plays. But the *internal* evidence irresistibly connects Marlowe with *EDWARD III*, as it does Greene; and therefore the only licit course in regard to *HENRY VI* is to apply the style-test there likewise—this whether or not we recognise Marlowe in *HENRY V*.

In detail, Dr. Brooke's procedure is almost more bewildering than Mr. Hart's. Its complications and contradictions may be summarised thus:—

1. "Marlowe's *influence* is unquestionably apparent in the older parts of the play" (instances given). But "the real proof that Marlowe did not write *HARRY THE SIXTH* (the play of 1592) is the *absence of any passion* except in scenes which *bear marks of revision*." Of the scenes so labelled there is no explanatory specification whatever; of "passion" there is no critical elucidation;

and of "marks of revision" there is no definition or delimitation. They are to be divined only from such passages as this:—

"Nearly all [good critics] credit Shakespeare with II, iv (the Temple Garden dispute or Roses scene), a large majority also with II, v (the death of Mortimer), which naturally links itself with the foregoing, and with the whole or most of IV, ii-vii (Talbot's death). With less assurance V, iii, 45-195 (Suffolk's wooing of Margaret) is added. In all of these there are strong indications of Shakespeare. Note the plays on words: 'I love no colours, and without all colour' (II, iv, 34); 'And in that ease I'll tell thee my disease' (II, v, 44); 'And they shall find dear deer of us' (IV, ii, 54), together with the technical deer-hunting allusions in the last passage, and the hawk, dog, horse references in II, iv, 11-14. Compare also the bold use of transferred adjectives"—

sampled by 'In dumb significants,' 'pale and maiden blossom,' 'pale and angry rose,' 'blood-drinking hate,' 'dusky torch of Mortimer,' 'sandy hour,' 'sleeping neglection,' 'drooping chair,' 'bold-faced victory,' 'stately and air-braving towers' [the last hardly recognisable as a case of "transferred adjectives"]].

2. By thus begging the question as to what is early work and what "revision," Mr. Brooke forecloses argument as to Marlovian qualities; and he further shuts the door on it by pronouncing, after a series of samples of obvious Marlowese in our play, that "All this means mimicry, conscious or unconscious." If we reply that it is not mimicry, but plain Marlowe, Dr. Brooke, it is to be inferred, will retort that it lacks passion. But was there passion, then, in the parallel passages which he cited *from Marlowe*? If so, where is the difference?

The argument is really a *circulus in probando*. Neither proposition is proved: each rests on the other. And the simple answer is that deep intensity of dramatic feeling, as distinct from declamatory energy or power of language, is really not generally characteristic of Marlowe's signed work anywhere, save for a few scenes in EDWARD II and FAUSTUS, where he perhaps reaches his highest flight. All the passion in DIDO, broadly speaking, comes from Virgil. And there is admittedly

more verisimilitude in *some* of the passion in 1 HENRY VI than is to be found in TAMBURLAINE or THE JEW: that is precisely why Dr. Brooke, having rejected the Marlowe theory in advance, proposes to give so much of the more striking work to Shakespeare. Yet in the first Act, which he does not profess to dispose of save as "mimicry," there is as much energy as in the comparable parts of EDWARD II.

Since he finally assigns the original draft to Peele, the question then arises: Is the mimicry Peele's or Shakespeare's? If Shakespeare's, on what pretence is alleged *superior* matter of Marlovian aspect proved non-Marlovian when, by implication, *inferior* matter of that aspect is also declared to be non-Marlovian? Dr. Brooke cannot have it both ways. If, on the other hand, the inferior mimicry is declared to be Peele's, we are simply compelled to ask Dr. Brooke to produce anything in Peele's known work that is comparable for energy and concision and Marlovian quality to the opening scene-section. This he certainly cannot do; and when we proceed to examine his "indications" of Shakespeare's presence they are found to break down at every test.

To begin with, the plays upon words are at least as much in the way of Marlowe and Peele and Kyd as of Shakespeare. I have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> cited a number of Marlowe's word-plays, and to those may be added:—

Haply some hapless man hath conscience (*Jew*, i, i);

The hopeless daughter of a hapless Jew (*Id.*);

The diamond that I talk of ne'er was foiled  
But when he touches it it will be foiled<sup>2</sup> (*Id.*, ii);

Is it square or pointed?

'Pointed<sup>3</sup> it is, good sir, but not for you (*Id.*, *ib.*);

The fruitful plot of scholarism graced,  
That shortly he was graced with doctor's name  
(*Faustus*, Prol.).

<sup>1</sup> *The Shakespeare Canon*, Part III, p. 173 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> The pun turns on the two senses of "foil"—foil to a diamond, and defeat of a purpose. I suspect the reading should be: "he will be foiled."

<sup>3</sup> "'Pointed'"=appointed.

And of the word-play that turns solely on alliterations, of which we have in 1 HENRY VI (I, iii, 31) the instance :

Thou most usurping proditor,  
And not protector,

we have a strictly analogous sample in EDWARD II (IV, i, 4) :

A brother ? no, a butcher of thy friends.

Peele is not behind :—

So valiantly  
He justed (jousted) that unjust it were in me  
Not to admire young Dudley's chivalry  
*(Anglorum Ferieæ) ;*

His mute approach and action of his mutes (*Id.*) ;  
Small number of a number numberless (*Id.*) ;  
To Chaucer, Gower, and to the fairest Phaer  
*(Order of the Garter) ;*

*Lancaster.* We men can speak smooth for advantage.  
*Joan.* Women, do you mean, my good uncle ?  
*(Edward I ; ed. Dyce, p. 400b) ;*

Fight not in fear as traitors and their feres  
*(Battle of Alcazar ; Dyce, p. 422b) ;*

Brave Ferdinand Lord Strange, strangely embarked  
*(Polyhymnia).*

Finally, one of the very puns cited by Dr Brooke as Shakespearean is found over again, in substance, in Peele's DAVID AND BETHSABE (I, i) near another :—

And thy sweet graces have found grace with him (l. 62) ;  
So come and taste thy ease with easing me (l. 123).

It is, of course, well known that a special propensity to puns has without misgiving been generally assigned to Shakespeare, though there is not one good pun in the Folio, and there are some hideously bad ones, *e.g.*, Romeo's :

Flies may do this, but I from this must fly.

To cast a doubt on Shakespeare's responsibility for such things, then, will be to incur anew, from iconolaters, the

charge of idolatry, a willed refusal to accept, as his, matter agonisingly unworthy of him. But while one may be entitled to concede something to the popular theory that he is to be traced by allusions to hunting and hawking—though such allusions are common with his contemporaries—it is really not possible to let a question of his presence at any disputed point be settled by the assumption that he was *the* punster of his age. The plain facts are otherwise. Nor can “hawk, dog and horse references” be seriously taken as finger-prints of Shakespeare when we know them to have been freely made by Marlowe, Greene, Peele and Kyd.

Before coming, further, to the general problem of what are to be reckoned “strong indications of Shakespeare,” one is moved to avow a respectful astonishment at finding an accomplished scholar, who has actually edited Marlowe, selecting as distinctive marks of Shakespeare’s diction the use of “transferred adjectives.” If there is any mode of writing which might be pronounced characteristic of Marlowe it is just this. In the very prologue to *TAMBURLAINE* we have “his conquering sword” (a figure by him several times repeated); and in that play they come thick and threefold. As thus:—

Freezing meteors and congealed cold, dreaming prophecies, barbarous arms, greedy spoils, vagrant ensigns, foaming gall, my royal seat, India’s wealthy arms, gracious stars, martial prizes, his greedy thirsting throat, martial spoil, cheerful light, their fearful tongues, dance with wanton majesty, lawless spoil, careless swords, thy winged sword, thy lofty arms, my victorious head, kind success, wise words, kingly joys, their angry seeds, the loathsome circle of my dated life, greedy talents (talons), your smothering host, killing frowns, smiling stars, gripe a warlike lance, superstitious bells, at my conquering feet, wanton paces, the low disdainful earth, this hateful earth, gentle flags of amity, mournful streamers, ignominious wrong, slaughtering terror, prostrate service, wrathful planets, dreary engines of my loathed sight, black abjection, tormented thoughts, ugly Darkness with her rusty coach, rebellious winds, senseless cold, bleeding ruth, fickle empery, slippery crowns, wavering turns of war, this worthless bondage, their slavish lives, my conquering mind.

All these, and more, are to be found in the FIRST PART OF TAMBURLAINE; and in later Marlowe plays and poems, though less commonly, they still appear. To quote 'blood-drinking hate' without a reference to 'his tear-thirsty . . . hate' (to say nothing of 'blood-quaffing Mars') is only to illustrate the blinding power of a foregone conclusion. And to forget such various examples of the "transferred adjective" as

'gross gold,' 'fatal curses,' 'fatal, straggling deer,' 'thy desperate steps,' 'unfeigned heart,' 'sad-presaging raven,' 'your hateful lives,' 'a Christian poverty,' 'swift-footed Time,' 'Time's calm and silent foot,' 'the melancholy earth,' 'breathing stars,' 'sallow fear,' 'unruly blades,' 'airy wheels,' 'my proud chariot's wheels,' 'my declining fall,' 'our unweapon'd thoughts,' 'hell-born clouds'

—and fifty more, outside of TAMBURLAINE—is to miss the very test that was called for by the hypothesis proceeded on.

Peele, too, has his "transferred adjectives." Mr. Hart perplexedly cites 'hungry prey' (I, ii, 28) as characteristic of Shakespeare, without professing to find such diction admirable. But that very phrase is closely paralleled by Peele's 'ravening prey' (OLD WIVES TALE)—a phrase probably echoed from the other, which is visibly Marlowe's; and in SELIMUS (l. 1941) we have "a hungry dinner." It is surely time that such self-stultifying methods of proving authorship should be abandoned for such loyal induction as is demanded of every theorist in every other field of investigation.

The first step in a loyal induction, in the present problem, is to scan the text with an eye not to *pre-supposed* characteristics of Shakespeare's diction (often inferred from disputed works) but (1) to the *actual* diction of his contemporaries, and (2) to the nature of the *versification*, as compared with that of contemporaries and that of Shakespeare's *admittedly* early work. If in the latter respect we find in the play before us marked differences of movement, yet little or nothing of the kind of movement found in Shakespeare's certainly early verse, the primary hypothesis must be that there were

all along different hands at work. Had Dr. Brooke followed this line of induction, instead of taking it for granted that there must be only one original author, whose work was necessarily recast in part by Shakespeare, he would have escaped the lure of the assumptions that Shakespeare is to be traced by forms of phrase which are common to others, that all Marlowesque matter must be mimicry, and that Greene must be ruled out because the bulk of the play is not "like him."

That phrase raises a problem which needs rather closer handling than has yet been given to it. To say of a play that it is not "like" another may be to assert a partial or even an obvious truth with a quite misleading implication. In his exceptionally interesting introduction (one of the best in that series) to the 'Mermaid' edition of Greene, Mr. T. H. Dickinson pronounces (p. lvii) that "it is impossible to view with any favour the theory of Greene's authorship of *SELIMUS*. In every respect the play is divergent from Greene's *characteristic* tone and method." Here the assumption is confidently made that Greene has *one* characteristic tone and method; though Professor Ward, before there was any question of his authorship of *SELIMUS*, had stressed the point that both as dramatist and novelist he is a writer of "many styles."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Dickinson would not dispute that there is a great difference in "tone and manner" between *ALPHONSUS OF ARRAGON* and *JAMES IV*. Nay, he has avowed concerning *GEORGE-A-GREENE* (p. lii) that "judged by the well-known tests of *textual and structural criticism* the play almost absolutely fails to connect itself either with Greene or his contemporary university writers." Yet, while not venturing to assert that the play is certainly Greene's, Mr. Dickinson evidently thinks it may be, since he gives good reasons for that view.

Already we are set doubting by the formula of "structural criticism," which here seems to mean "structural character." What plays could be more different in tone and manner and structure, one asks,

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Eng. Dram. Lit.*, 2nd ed., i, 193.



than the OLD WIVES TALE and DAVID AND BETHSABE? Yet who doubts that both are by Peele? And why are we thus undoubting, unless it be that we recognise in the *texture* of the style of the two pieces a community of source? Mr. Dickinson has himself written, in the same essay (p. lxii) that "As Marlowe moved from the sublime passion of his TAMBURLAINE theme to the *cold reserve* of his EDWARD II,<sup>1</sup> Greene also, casting off the turgid eloquence of his early style, attained at the end to an art of contemplative repose and genial humanity." But there are many other ways in which experimenting artists in an exceptionally experimental period may vary their tone, their methods, their themes, and their structures.

This is not the place for reopening the question of the authorship of SELIMUS; but it is well to recall that the exceptionally large use of stanza forms which makes that play *prima facie* "unlike" Greene is in keeping with his heated protest, at one stage, against the current assumption that blank-verse is the "end of scholarship" in English drama.<sup>2</sup> The scores of echoes of Greene's phraseology and sentiment in the play *may* be, as Mr. Dickinson confidently assumes, a matter of wholesale imitation by another hand<sup>3</sup>—though he expressly indicates just such echoes as suggesting Greene's authorship of LOCRINE; but the prudent critic, in the present state of knowledge, will perhaps be content to keep open the possibility that even if another hand sketched incompletely a play in stanza-form, Greene may have been called in to develop it. Stanza-form in drama was not a novelty,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This after pronouncing EDWARD II (p. xlii) a "faultless masterpiece of his dramatic composition." It is unfortunate that criticism of this play has run so much to contrary hyperboles which alternately deny it faults and merits. It surely has plenty of both. Mr. Dickinson has evidently seen the need for discrimination, though "cold reserve" is hardly the right mean. He modifies "sublime" also by positing in its place (p. lxvi) "yearning fancy"—this in an interesting proposition as to the "hard reserve laid upon his [Marlowe's] later pen by bitter suffering," for which there is small evidence.

<sup>2</sup> Address pref. to *Perimedes*, 1588.

<sup>3</sup> It is worth investigating whether Kyd, who also played with the stanza, may have had a hand in *Locrine* and in *Selimus*. He may have done stanza-work, in particular, in both.

<sup>4</sup> See *Introduction to the Canon*, p. 319 n.

and Greene has actually used it in JAMES IV and, perhaps, in LOCRINE.

The first thing to be posited in these matters is the fact, fully established at once by internal and external evidences, that Elizabethan plays were very often the work of several collaborating or revising hands. In the case of published anonymous plays it seems probable that the absence of any author's name from the title-page is often due to the very fact that either the manuscript or stage report showed it to be the work of several hands. This is the first caveat against all theories which posit a single author for any of the doubtful anonymous plays or any of the disputed plays in the Folio. It is a necessary stipulation against the theories which variously assign the draft of such a play as 1 HENRY VI solely to Marlowe, or to Greene, or to Peele. And it involves a circumspect attempt to indicate at every salient point the respective styles of each or any of those authors. If, then, we are to assign the opening scene to Shakespeare, we ascribe to him a quantity of Marlovian rhetoric, some of which is rather below Marlowe's average in that kind. Exeter's lines :

What, shall we curse the planets of mishap  
That plotted thus our glory's overthrow ?  
Or shall we thank <sup>1</sup> the subtle-witted French,  
Conjurers and sorcerers that, afraid of him,  
By magic verses have contrived his end ?

are surely inconceivable as coming, even about 1590, from the poet who penned about the same time the opening scene of the COMEDY OF ERRORS ;<sup>2</sup> but they are very readily to be assigned to the poet who translated Ovid's *Elegies*.<sup>3</sup> And it is no less unwarrantable to suppose that the young Shakespeare, undertaking a new chronicle play, would far outgo the wildest anachronisms of EDWARD II by a chronological medley not to be

<sup>1</sup> This reading appears to be necessary. The query, " Shall we *think* the subtle-witted French conjurers and sorcerers ? " is so feeble that only the low esteem in which the play is justly held can account for heedless acceptance of that reading by all editors.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Shakespeare Canon*, Part II, pp. 146-8.

<sup>3</sup> See the *Amores*, II, i—badly translated at this point by Marlowe.

matched on the Elizabethan or any other stage. For that is what is achieved in *I HENRY VI*.<sup>1</sup>

The hopeless confusion of the time-order, which begins with Winchester's declaring Gloucester protector before Bedford has been made so, and alluding to Gloucester's wife Jacqueline a year before the marriage, thus antedating their quarrel by three years, tells of a fine unconcern as to historical criticism. Immediately on the death of Henry V, in 1422, we have the Messenger's announcement that

Guienne, Champagne, Rheims, Orléans,  
Paris, Guysors, Poictiers, are all quite lost

—events occurring only from seven to thirteen years later—and this in turn is followed by scenes in which we have passed straight into 1429. The entrances of the three successive messengers, of whom the second declares Charles already crowned at Rheims, before Joan has even appeared, tell either of a play gone about with a minimum of preparation or of one drastically and recklessly recast; and when in the speech of the third messenger we detect pretty plainly the feebler diction and versification of Kyd, there is no sign of any such revision of plan as he might be expected to attempt. Confusion is now thrice confounded. The battle of Patay is now added to the preposterous list of events which precede the advent of *The Maid* (1429), all on the heels of Henry's funeral.

That the first two Acts underwent a recast is indicated by the before-noted fact that while in the Folio the scenes of the third Act are duly marked, there is no numbering of scenes in the first and second, after the *Scœna Prima*. The inference is that the first arrangement had been altered: to what extent, it is impossible

<sup>1</sup> Oscar Wilde saw fit to assert of the historical plays, all of which he orthodoxly ascribed to Shakespeare, that "it is wonderful how careful he is to have his facts right—indeed he follows Holinshed with curious fidelity" (*'The Truth of Masks,' in Intentions*, 7th ed., p. 245). It would not have troubled Wilde in the least to have it shown that he had been fabling; but it is necessary to tell the trusting reader that the statement is non-veridical. The comments current about the historical value of the "Shakespeare" plays appear to be mostly made by men who have never studied history.

to say. In Scene ii of the modern editions, Charles is attacking the English "near Orléans"; in Scene iv a messenger announces to Talbot that

The Dauphin, with one Joan la Pucelle joined . . .  
Is come with a great power to raise the siege.

The hypothesis strongly suggests itself that the two absolutely unhistorical scenes of the repulse of Charles and his troops near Orléans and the recovery of the town after its relief may have been part of a previous attempt to give popularity to a play that had obviously lacked it. But whether the first draft had been more faithful to history and chronology there is no guessing.

On any view there are definite technical grounds for assigning different portions of the play, both in the first and in later Acts, to points of time separated by at least two or three years. In the third messenger's section, hereinafter assigned to Kyd, there are six double-endings to a speech of 33 lines, or 18 per cent.; in the Marlowe lines which follow there is none; and in the 68 opening lines of the play there are only two or three; while in the 12 lines hereinafter assigned to Greene there is none. The last item may or may not, on *this* score, be a late contribution, seeing that Greene was the latest of the pre-Shakespeareans to use the double-ending with any freedom,<sup>1</sup> and might well write a dozen lines even in 1592 without one. But while Kyd, who set out with the minimum in the SPANISH TRAGEDY, considerably multiplied them as early as SOLIMAN AND PERSEDA and ARDEN,<sup>2</sup> it is unlikely that when Marlowe was still using few (there are only 8+ per cent. in Scene ii) his imitator had gone beyond 13. The inference is that the Marlowe matter in Act I is early; that the Roses scene (28 per cent.) is at least as late as 1592, to which year we must assign the Talbot scenes, with their relatively high percentages; and that Kyd's insertion

<sup>1</sup> See *The Shakespeare Canon*, Part II, pp. 24-6; *Introduction to the Canon*, pp. 423-4.

<sup>2</sup> See *Introduction to the Canon*, pp. 27 seq.

in Act 1 belongs to that year also. As we shall see later, all of Greene's work in the play is marked by relatively low percentages, though in one scene we shall find 7.4.

When, indeed, we note the wild disruptions of the historic sequence—when we find (a) the Dauphin crowned at Rheims *before* The Maid arrives (1429), whereas that event notoriously took place after her advent; (b) a repulse of Charles near Orléans which never took place; (c) an invented recapture of Orléans after The Maid had relieved it; (d) this sequence represented as following immediately after the death of Henry V (1422); (e) arrangements being made before The Maid's capture (1430) for the marriage of the child Henry VI, born in 1421 and married only in 1445; (f) the alliance of Charles with Burgundy (1435); (g) the death of Bedford (1435); and (h) the death of Talbot (1453), all placed in the play before The Maid's capture—we are even led to wonder whether the piece as it stands is not a rearrangement, in one, of two or more previous plays, in which the order of events had more nearly conformed to history. Seeing, however, that the Talbot scenes, including Talbot's death before The Maid's capture, were demonstrably added by Marlowe after the play had already been for some time in existence or on the stage, we cannot deny that he was capable of planning or permitting the whole imbroglio. What we may reasonably deny is the traditionist assumption that the whole historic chaos was shaped or endorsed by Shakespeare.

That Shakespeare handled his borrowed plots more or less carelessly is common ground for all who have really studied him. But there is surely a difference between recognising that and imputing to his wilful invention the most preposterous medley of false historic scenes that ever pretended to be a chronicle play. It is not in the least a matter of partisan pleading, it is a simple matter of critical elucidation, to show that this kaleidoscopic construction really needed a number of lawless hands, and at least one drastic decomposition, to attain its vertiginal perfection of impossibility.

## § 2. DR. GAW'S MONOGRAPH

The reasoned recognition of the presence of a variety of hands in the play is the great service rendered to the inquiry by Dr. Allison Gaw in the monograph by him, above mentioned. He freely avows<sup>1</sup> that his "principal obligations are to Fleay, whose belief as to the original quadruple authorship of the play proves right in general theory, though quite erroneous in detail." Unfortunately the last clause (which compels a *tu quoque*!) is by Dr. Gaw so supported as to do Fleay less than final justice. Dr. Gaw has cited from him nothing later, in this connection, than the LIFE AND WORK OF SHAKESPEARE, whereas, as has been indicated above, Fleay in the BIOGRAPHICAL CHRONICLE silently dropped his theory as to the presence of Lodge,<sup>2</sup> which is one of the errors animadverted on by Dr. Gaw. Nor does the latter observe that Fleay had in the same fashion dropped his ascription of the Roses scene to Shakespeare.

An important negative rectification, however, had been independently reached by Dr. Gaw in regard to the authorship of the rhymed Talbot scenes. He does not mention that they had been rejected by Gervinus, or refer to any of the other emphatic negative judgments published prior to 1926, but he had doubtless reached for himself the conclusion that they are non-Shakespearean. His inference that the success of the scenes, as reported by Nashe, was largely due to the acting of Burbage, is a sound criticism; though here again, in support of his view (laid down by Dr. Tucker Brooke) that the play had no existence before 1592, when Nashe acclaimed those scenes, he partly cancels his argument by claiming (p. 17) that it is "perfectly fair to consider that the scenes in which Talbot 'triumphs again on the stage' . . . are the earlier sections in which he triumphs in battle." This overlooks the decisive testimony of Nashe to the "teares" of the multitudes of spectators—

<sup>1</sup> Pref. p. vi.

<sup>2</sup> A cross-reference to Greene (ii, 51) preserves the suggestion that Lodge shared in a *Henry VI*; but that is not developed.

the item in the testimony which specially justified Fleay's view that the death-scenes were added in 1592 to a play already known.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, Dr. Gaw follows Fleay in dividing the scenes among four theoretic authors, A, B, C, and D. These Fleay had laxly selected in respect of apparent preferences in anachronism in a play wildly unchronological. Dr. Gaw seeks to follow the same abstract division and to justify it by (a) name-spellings and (b) forms of clause balance within the line, or of line against line. That any of these forms of construction is special to any author is in no way demonstrated.

The first serious concrete trouble is that, with Grant White and others, Dr. Gaw confidently assigns the rhymed Talbot scenes to Peele. Here we have the old drawback of a judgment reached on the strength of one lax test, in disregard of the others which ought to be applied. White gave the scenes to Peele because of their "pathos," which Daniel suggested might be a misprint for "bathos." As if Marlowe and Greene and Kyd were alike incapable of either pathos or bathos. What we have to settle as to those scenes is whether the diction and the versification are Peele's or another's. That they are not Shakespeare's is now, happily, recognised by quite a number of critics. But Mr. Acheson (1920) held that "there cannot be the slightest doubt" of their being Peele's; whereas Dr. Brooke and Professor Quincy Adams are prepared to give Peele the bulk of the play, which means assigning to him styles not recognised as his by Dr. Gaw. After weighing the possible arguments for Peele and Chettle, who appear to be the only practitioners worth considering apart from Marlowe, I gave in 1923<sup>2</sup> my reasons for deciding that it is just Marlowe who has written the rhymed and unrhymed Talbot scenes; and

<sup>1</sup> This does not necessarily negate Dr. Tucker Brooke's remark that "Talbot's death must, I think, have been a conspicuous feature in the pre-Shakespearean play"—in our sense of a 1589 play. But Nashe's testimony clearly implies that if there *were* previous death-scenes they had no such signal success as those of 1592.

<sup>2</sup> *Canon*, Part II, pp. 83-8.

until the supporters of the Peele claim offer counter-vailing arguments *from style and diction*, to that position one must adhere. To assign the high percentages of feminine-endings in the blank-verse section to Shakespeare as interpolator is merely to impose a deduction on a false premiss. Dr. Gaw's verdict, unfortunately, is doubly impaired for us by his disregard of style and verse tests in the ascriptions he makes to Shakespeare in other parts of the play before us.

The outstanding issue is that as to the Roses scene, which, according to Dr. Gaw (p. 33) "all critics admit to be a later interpolation by Shakespeare." I presume he would have noticed the flatly contrary pronouncements had he ever seen them, and that he was here assenting unwarily to the prior assertion of Mr. Acheson<sup>1</sup> that the Roses scene has been "accepted by practically all critics" as unquestionably Shakespeare's work. Significantly enough, Dr. Gaw has again failed to observe that Fleay, who was one of the mainstays of the opinion, had silently dropped it from his latest exposition. I have always inferred that he did so because he realised that the high percentage of double-endings<sup>2</sup> makes the scene impossible for Shakespeare in 1592, while the end-stopped and otherwise markedly Marlovian versification makes it impossible for him at the later period when he had reached such a percentage of double-endings. Dr. Gaw (here following Fleay) pronounces the scene to be an addition made by Shakespeare in 1599, when he was at work on HENRY V.

As to HENRY V, I set forth eight years ago<sup>3</sup> the manifold reasons for inferring a pre-Shakespearean play, and a non-Shakespearean recast which Shakespeare only partially revised. That issue may be left to the arbitration of time. But on the proposition that the Roses scene is by Marlowe, and not by Shakespeare, it is fitting to insist here, as a vital question between the present investigator and the alleged consensus of

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London*, 1920, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> By slightly different countings, I have at different times put the figure at 26, 27, and 28. The lowest of these is quite high enough for the argument.

<sup>3</sup> *Canon*, Part I, 1922.



criticism. If Shakespeare wrote the Roses scene, either in 1592 or in 1599, brazenly copying every characteristic of Marlowe, adopting the mode of line-ending which the beginner has already discarded in the opening scene of the ERRORS and goes on discarding in 1 HENRY IV, then the Imitation Theory wins all along the line, and critical discrimination becomes impossible. As I cannot conceive Shakespeare to have been the Poet Ape of the Imitation Theory, I urge once more that he cannot have written the Roses scene.

The fatality is that so long as men blindly adhere to the traditional canon, ascribing RICHARD II and RICHARD III and THE TWO GENTLEMEN unquestioningly to Shakespeare, they cannot see the internal evidence which confutes that tradition. When Fleay suggested that RICHARD III is a Marlowe play, he spoke to a critically deaf and blind generation, who regarded him not at all. All men steeped in that tradition are prepared as a matter of course to assign the Roses scene in 1 HENRY VI to Shakespeare.

Dr. Gaw, for his part, while he joins in that ascription, does not ostensibly see that he is imputing imitation at all. On the contrary, he claims to find Shakespeare's hand not only in the blank-verse portions (as distinct from the rhymed) of the Talbot scenes; but in the Suffolk-Margaret scene in Act v—there in respect of supposed modal homogeneities with matter in LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST. Now, the non-origination of the last-named play by Shakespeare is *prima facie* as probable as his non-origination of the LOVE'S LABOUR'S WON which has been variously traced to MUCH ADO, to TWELFTH NIGHT, and (as by the present writer after others) to ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL. To found, then, on certain phenomena in LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST as decisive clues to Shakespeare's early dramatic technique, is surely a piece of critical temerity, when it involves (even by paralogism) the ascription to the young Shakespeare, in 1 HENRY VI, of some of the worst stage art in the whole play. Furthermore, the thesis as to Shakespeare's authorship of the wooing scene is made in flat disregard

of the principle on which he is recognised in other scenes by his double-endings. Here, that rule ceases to work.

In point of fact, the uses of aside and soliloquy in LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST are substantially different from those cited by Dr. Gaw (pp. 30 *seq.*) in 1 HENRY VI; but even if they were strictly comparable it would be unwarrantable thus to decide such a question in disregard of the tests of style and versification. The scientific course would be to inquire whether the original structure of LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST may not have been laid by Greene, who is likely enough to have done a LABOUR WON as well as a LABOUR LOST. For the present writer, the Suffolk-Margaret scene in Part I was from the first critical scrutiny as obviously Greene's as any. That view, of course, must be put to the tests like every other; but until it has been repelled by argument, the ascription to Shakespeare is purely arbitrary. The real handiwork of Shakespeare in the LABOUR has thus far never been scientifically demonstrated; and until that is done the play cannot be taken as a touchstone.

But, for other purposes, other plays can. The most fundamentally serious of Dr. Gaw's misjudgments is his assumption (founded on that of a predecessor, but pretexted only by a false tradition and quite fallaciously defended) that Shakespeare is the first of the dramatists to reach a high percentage of double-endings. Here he seems to have confidently followed the fatal assumption of my friend Professor Parrott, set forth in that writer's careful essay on TITUS ANDRONICUS. Insofar as Dr. Gaw indicates his grounds (p. 87) for his opinion, he has given concrete form to the error committed by Professor Parrott without any apparatus of proof. We are asked to believe in Shakespeare's priority and predominance in multiplication of the double-ending on the strength of an outrageous schema in which his practice is sampled from "*Comedy of Errors* (Shakespeare's section, I, ii to V, i, 281)"; and from the TWO GENTLEMEN and RICHARD III, and further from Dr. Gaw's selections from 1 HENRY VI—the last a mere argument in a circle.

Surely any considerate inquiry as to Shakespeare's

resort to double-endings would at the very outset note his predominant practice in (1) the DREAM, (2) KING JOHN, and (3) 1 HENRY IV, the three plays in which his real practice may most fairly be inferred from his indisputable work. Dr. Gaw in this connection does not even name them, though, in point of fact, he might have argued from some passages of late insertion that Shakespeare was at the date of those plays pushing the double-ending hard. Genuine early work he stolidly rejects. Actually he excludes Shakespeare from the opening scene of the ERRORS, precisely where the young master is most palpably present in respect of diction, of poetry, of run-on lines, and of varying rhythm, and assigns to him everything from I, ii to V, i, 281; whereas the second scene is at once marked as non-Shakespearean by its *line-ended* verse. Thus the young artist is convicted of conformity to the worst pre-Shakespearean and post-Shakespearean vice of versification, for the sole purpose of making him out to be the leading practitioner of the double-ending. And Dr. Gaw comes into line with Professor Quincy Adams, who credits the young Shakespeare with writing purely Marlovian verse at Stratford-on-Avon before Marlowe had produced TAMBURLAINE.

The assumption that Marlowe remained to the last averse from the double-ending is made out in as completely fallacious a fashion. Not once does Dr. Gaw allude to the translation of Book I of *Lucan*, in the first hundred lines of which we reach the percentage of 26, and in the last hundred 23—the percentage for the whole being 17. Not once does he refer to the later percentages reached in given scenes by Kyd. Not once, of course, does he meet the argument that to Marlowe are assignable scenes in TITUS which far outgo the percentages obtained by taking the total percentages of the signed plays and the CONTENTION and DUKE OF YORK. And not once does he face the proposition of Fleay that RICHARD III is substantially a play by Marlowe. On the contrary, he takes RICHARD III as supporting his claim for the double-ending practice of Shakespeare. It was not, of course, to be expected

that he would recognise the thesis of Greene's origination of the TWO GENTLEMEN, but the reader may be invited to note that at that point also Dr. Gaw's and Professor Parrott's thesis has been challenged in advance.

Even as Professor Parrott's fallacy dominates his treatment of the problem of TITUS, so does Dr. Gaw's fallacy pervade his treatment in detail of 1 HENRY VI, in respect of the assignments of portions. And inasmuch as this is done in flat defiance of the testimony of 1 HENRY IV and KING JOHN as to Shakespeare's *lateness* in multiplying the double-ending, it must here be challenged as an error that blocks the way to all scientific analysis where it comes into action. When we find in the DREAM (v, i, 1-28) ten double-endings in a scene-section of 28 lines (26 blank)—nearly 40 per cent.—we are forced by the phenomena to infer that Shakespeare has made a late recast of a passage penned by another hand, since he has left some markedly inferior lines. The passage cannot be early, and there are other passages thus inferably late. But on Dr. Gaw's theory the whole section v, i $\alpha$ , exhibits the young Shakespeare uncontrollably boiling over in a torrent of double-endings and collapsing in bad commonplace. Until the American researchers rectify their method at this point, everything remains in chaos. To make Shakespeare the first ringleader in double-endings by way of justifying the ascription to him of the Roses scene is to keep critical science still out of doors. And to treat such a paralogism as establishing a schema of "Shakespeare's metrics" is to turn back the hand on the critical dial.

The best that can be said for Professor Parrott and Dr. Gaw is that Charles Bathurst, who so clearly saw the rhythmic advance of Shakespeare over his predecessors to be one from "unbroken" (end-stopped) to "broken" (solute) verse, does not seem ever to have realised that this advance began with Shakespeare's earliest handiwork, and that the mass of end-stopped verse assigned to him in the canon cannot really be his. Unfortunately they do not even assimilate

Bathurst. It is much that, in spite of these miscarriages, Dr. Gaw has at a number of points contributed towards a clearing-up of the problem of the HENRY VI plays. I will endeavour to set forth summarily what I regard as the valuable matter in his survey, in contrast with what I regard as the errors.

1. He has made the first critical collation of the various views of the modern critics on the whole problem, and the first comprehensive and analytical attempt to reconstruct the play and its authorship, in whole and in parts.

2. He is almost the first to pay reasonable tribute to Fleay's attempts to do this service in his own summary fashion: and though he has not noted all Fleay's corrections of his own guesses he has sought to meet them with fair criticism.

3. He has not merely reinforced Fleay's main theorem that the play is the work of various hands, but has laboured critically to trace them in a fashion never attempted by Fleay, and—even if at points highly questionable—at least superior to the confused methods of H. C. Hart.

4. He has made a new and independent research into the use of the turret on the Elizabethan stage.

5. In defiance of the uncritical apriorism of Grant White, he realises and affirms that the scene of Queen Margaret's word-battle with York in Part III is really Marlowe's, though he ascribes slight revision to Shakespeare.

6. He has ably supported the argument of Dr. Tucker Brooke—here at his critical best—that Greene's allusion to the "tiger's heart" line in no way calls for the inference that Shakespeare wrote it.

7. He rightly recognises, with Gervinus, that the concluding scenes are an addition to the play, and that, for its own purposes, it would have ended more fitly at the conclusion of the peace.

8. He helpfully insists on the non-Shakespearean character of the anti-Joan scenes, an argument by which, as he claims, "Shakespeare's memory is relieved of an old reproach"—even if he does not note that Shakespeare's authorship had been long ago denied by many. Unfortunately, he builds on the double-ending fallacy an ascription of Joan's self-defensive lines in v, iv, to Shakespeare, though this leaves the latter responsible for the retention of the rest of the scene. The fallacy has thus yielded only a lame and impotent vindication. A study of Peele's and Marlowe's methods should have shown that to give a denounced person a free run of counter-charge was for them a simple matter; and that Marlowe was, after all, the likeliest man to give Joan a last fling when the "management" had decided to degrade her.

9. Dr. Gaw counters Sir E. K. Chambers's vain hypothesis of the identity of the ERRORS with THE JEALOUS COMEDY by putting the same view (pp. 160-1 *n.*) that the latter play "is much more probably the basis of THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR," though here he ascribes the right view to Professor Adams, whereas it had been put long before by Fleay.

10. Even in confidently assigning the (rhymed) Talbot death-scenes to Peele, he usefully counters the uncritical acceptance of them as Shakespeare's. It would seem as if critical progress in those matters could only thus be made by zigzagging advances, in which, for lack of rigorous scrutiny of data and rigorous inference from them, error dogs the heels of the advance. Here the advance has consisted in getting away from the assumption of a one-man authorship. In giving the scenes wrongly to Peele, Dr. Gaw has at least cut loose from the hopeless theory that he wrote the whole of the original play.

As against these helps to right analysis of the first play and the trilogy in general, however, I am compelled to note:

1. (As aforesaid) that he has taken up a quite untenable position in making Shakespeare the chief agent in the introduction of the double-ending—ignoring at once, on the one hand, the cues given by Marlowe's version of *Lucan*, and by visibly added scenes in EDWARD II and 2 TAMBURLAINE (to say nothing here of the CONTENTION and the DUKE OF YORK and A 'LARUM FOR LONDON), and, on the other hand, Shakespeare's plain initial practice in 1 HENRY IV, the DREAM, and JOHN.

2. It can only have been his fallacious assumption on this head that made him assign to the young Shakespeare *not* the opening scene of the ERRORS, which is probably Shakespeare's first stage flight, but the second scene, which is so markedly line-ended and so charmlessly pedestrian as to be for him impossible at any period. Only the delusion as to the double-ending *could* have inspired such a judgment.

3. On the same assumption he not only insists that the Roses scene is Shakespeare's, but (after Fleay) that it was written about 1599—a time when such a series of end-stopped verses was for Shakespeare doubly impossible. On the same principle he ought to have dated the second scene of the ERRORS at least as late as 1597.

4. In arguing, probably with justice, that in 1588-9 Greene could not have written any of the verse in 1 HENRY VI, he in no way supports his thesis that the play originated in 1592. Greene's share may well have consisted only in additions made in 1592. By recognising, unwillingly indeed, that Greene's hand appears to be present, he only testifies to a *recast* in 1592. Thinking of Greene mostly in terms of his earlier work, he does not note that the verse in 1 HENRY VI, I, i (69-81), closely resembles much of that of JAMES IV, generally admitted to be one of Greene's later plays. The fair inference is not an origination but a general recasting of 1 HENRY VI in 1592, in which Greene shared.

5. The gratuitous insistence on the origination of the play in 1592 clashes with his own admission (p. 129),

that in the Talbot death-scenes the hero is conceived as a much older man than in the earlier; and it further makes him tamper with the grounds for the inference that in 1592 those death-scenes were an innovation—as the extensive resort to couplets suggests *prima facie*.

6. When Dr. Gaw writes (p. 162) that there is “not a scintilla of evidence” that the play was “written prior to 1592,” he merely misses or ignores the strong internal evidence which even on his own principles should be seen to point to an earlier draft. These evidences are (a) the plain perversion, in Act iv, of Marlowe’s original chivalrous conception of Joan of Arc; and (b) the obvious imposition of verse with many double-endings upon verse that has hardly any. The play opens with 68 obviously Marlovian lines, in which there are at most three double-endings. Then, after Greene’s addition to the first messenger’s speech, and 21 more Marlowe lines without one double-ending, we have the plainly different hand in the third messenger’s speech, where in 16 lines (14-29) we have six double-endings, = 37 per cent., as Dr. Gaw might say. Even the four in the 17 lines at the end of Scene ii should suggest a late addition, as do the six in the 13 lines (15-27) and the six in the first 12 lines in Scene v. The occurrence, again, of five double-endings in Scene iv<sup>a</sup>, fixed for 1592 by the item of the turret, thus expressly dated by Dr. Gaw, should have given him pause if anything could. This percentage of nearly 24 in a scene-section is decisive of newness. By the same reasoning, the Mortimer death-scene (*earlier* Kyd) is early and not late; and the existence of a prior form of the play is established.

On the other hand, his “evidence” for the origination of the play in 1592 works down to the mere dogma, founded solely on the unscrutinised traditional canon that Shakespeare *must* be the man who first multiplied double-endings. And yet a whole series of scenes and sections marked by rise in double-endings are by Dr. Gaw assigned *not* to Shakespeare but to Marlowe, or



another, while the wooing-scene, with only 4.6 of double-endings, is given by him to Shakespeare; and the Roses scene, with 28 (in his count 26) per cent. of double-endings is by him post-dated to 1599, as being *only then* possible for Shakespeare. Thus is confusion thrice confounded.

7. In declaring that he "can find nothing in the play suggestive of Kyd" (p. 121) he ignores the plain concatenation between the narrative manner of the third messenger's speech, the speeches of the Mariner in Act III of EDWARD III, and Kyd's phraseology in the SPANISH TRAGEDY and in SOLIMAN and PERSEDA, to say nothing of Kyd's presence in several other scenes of our play. The remark that Kyd "seems" to have abandoned the stage in 1590 is a quite negligible one in face of the evidence for his authorship of ARDEN and (probably) the WARNING FOR FAIRE WOMEN, to say nothing of the evidence for Kyd's presence in Parts II and III, in RICHARD III, and in ROMEO AND JULIET. The failure to detect Kyd in the Mortimer death-scene, certainly, is what might have been expected.

8. The failure to note the vital æsthetic superiority of the *run-on* rhythm, with breaks at any point—exemplified in the first scene of the ERRORS, and decisive for the tracing of Shakespeare's occasional presence in 2 HENRY VI and RICHARD III—is correlative with the fallacy of making him the author of that blending of the double-ending with the end-stopped verse which is the special mark of Marlowe. This twofold error affects the texture of his essay in a score of places. Yet, at points, he flatly defies his own principle, as when he assigns to an outsider<sup>1</sup> the third messenger speech (really by Kyd), when its double-endings should have led him, in consistency, to give it—wrongly of course—to Shakespeare.

9. While justly noting (p. 16) the unwarrantable character of Mr. Mabie's assumption that the Talbot

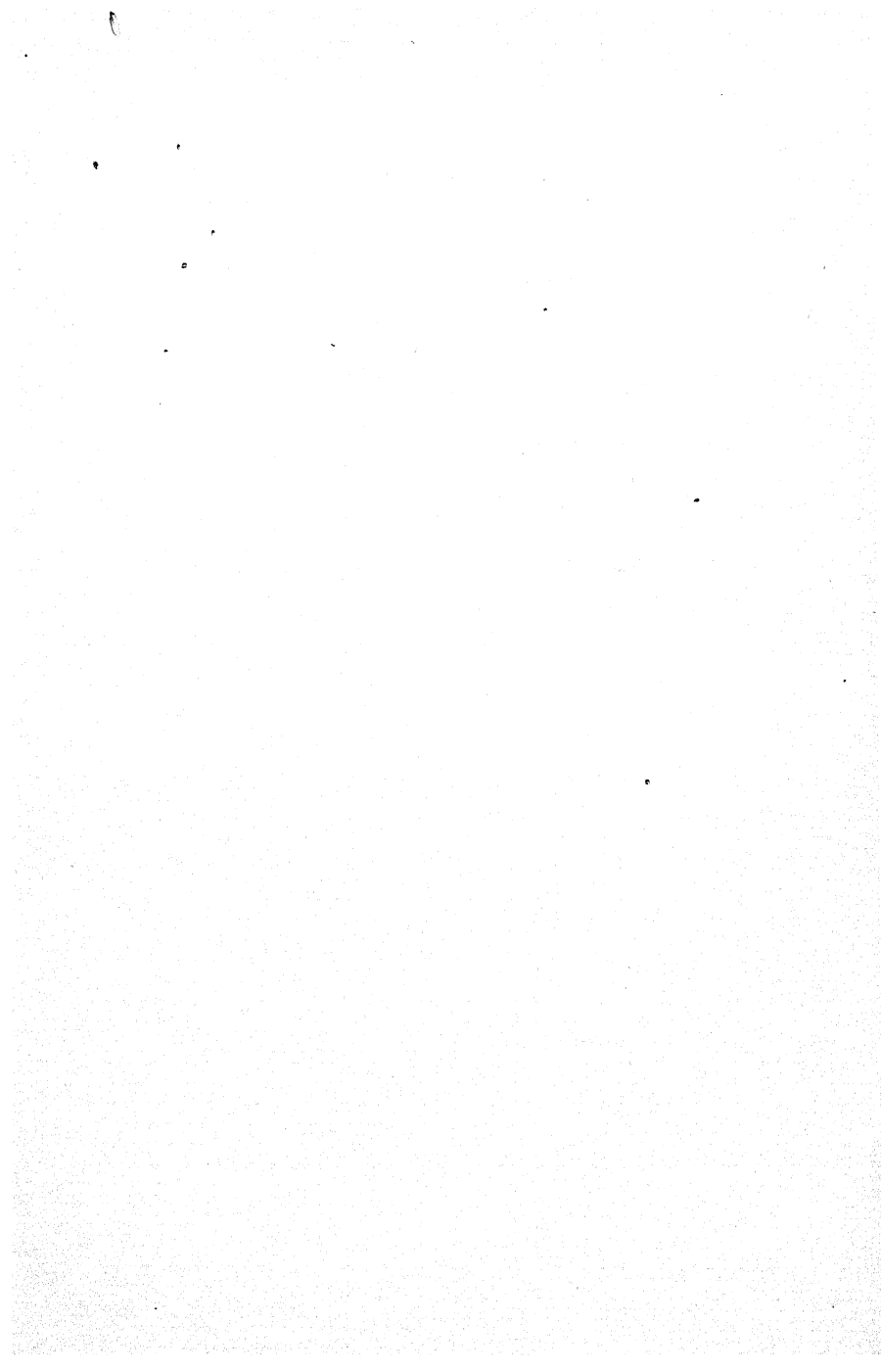
<sup>1</sup> In his table, Dr. Gaw gives the whole scene to Marlowe; but in two passages he notes that it cannot be Marlowe's.

scenes are Shakespeare's "by common consent," he speaks (p. 33), of the Roses scene as one "which all critics admit to be a later interpolation of Shakespeare." Here he has missed the fact that Fleay, who originally held that view, finally dropped it, as above noted. And here Dr. Gaw regrettably reinforces the uncritical school by treating as late Shakespearean work an un-Shakespearean tissue of line-ended verse. Thus does a false theory, lightly accepted, vitiate much of a well-laboured study. The reasons given in his footnote (p. 33) for labelling the scene as "certainly" Shakespearean, ignore all real evidences of style as well as all true criteria of versification. Equally they ignore the striking parallelism of manner and matter in the "Between" lines of the Roses scene and the passage in EDWARD II, II, 1, beginning "'Tis not a black coat."

That these passages are from the same hand, though that in EDWARD II is written before the surrender of Marlowe to the double-ending, will perhaps begin to be recognised when students consent to substitute a loyally inductive method for one of deduction from a spurious premise. And though it is less readily demonstrable that Greene, like Marlowe and Kyd, finally adopted the double-ending relief to what had become a felt monotony in the norm, which the old practitioners could not transcend by Shakespeare's secret of continuous rhythm, Greene's conformity to the double-ending may also be realised by those who will inductively read the traces of his hand in the Countess scenes of EDWARD III. Occasional run-on lines (seen even in FERREX AND PORREX) had always come easily to him; and at times he seems on the verge of the discovery that breaks within the line have rhythmic value. But, finally, he comes down on the side of the mechanical relief supplied by the double-ending, the easiest device of all. His presence in the Two GENTLEMEN OF VERONA may then be found to be critically admissible. Similarly that of Marlowe in the ERRORS becomes perceptible to the style-sense when

it is realised that *he*, and not Shakespeare, is the maker of the stiff line-ended verse in Scene ii.

In sum, Dr. Gaw's careful and scholarly contribution to the study of the Shakespeare canon reveals that the examination of one early play cannot be decisively made without a regard to the issues involved in the study of the other early plays and of the phenomena of the whole pre-Shakespearean corpus. It may reasonably be hoped, then, that so diligent a scholar will reconsider his work after a fuller survey of the problem of the canon in general. The fact that he has recognised a *variety of hands* in plays in which contemporary specialists continue to see only one original writer, revised and expanded by Shakespeare, counts for critical righteousness.



SECTION II  
THE FIRST PART OF 'HENRY VI'.  
INDUCTIVELY CONSIDERED

CHAPTER I

THE OPENING

It will perhaps be admitted, by those who have studied at all closely the style and diction of Marlowe, that the opening speech of 1 HENRY VI is so much in his vein and manner that, if it be not his, it is a signally deliberate and successful imitation. The lines calling on the comets to

Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky,  
And with them scourge the bad revolting stars  
That have consented unto Henry's death,

were enough to convince Swinburne that it was Marlowe's own. They at once recall the line :

That shone as comets menacing revenge  
(1 *Tamb.* III, ii) ;

and the rest of the four opening speeches are no less obviously Marlovian. There are absolute echoes :

He ne'er lift up his hand but conquerèd

is assignable to the writer of the lines :

My camp is like to Julius Cæsar's host,  
That never fought but had the victory  
(1 *Tamb.* III, iii) ;

and

Nor e'er return but with the victory  
(2 *Tamb.* III, v).

No less plainly is the line :

Like captives bound to a triumphant car

assignable to the author of that other :

With captive kings at his triumphant car  
(*Ed. II.*, I, i) ;

and

*Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky*

points straight to

Flora in her morning's pride  
*Shaking her silver tresses in the air*  
(1 *Tamb.* v, ii) ;

and

My horsemen *brandish* their unruly blades  
(2 *Tamb.* v, i) ;

and

All *brandishing* their brands of quenchless fire  
(2 *Tamb.* III, v) ;

"crystal" being one of Marlowe's frequent meteorological epithets.<sup>1</sup> But the entire theme, the strong but simple rhythm, the imagery, the inflation and the diction, are alike his ; and to assign such verse to Peele, as do Dr. Tucker Brooke and Professor Quincy Adams, without even an attempt at proof from rhythm, diction, phraseology<sup>2</sup> or vocabulary, is merely to defy critical principle. While such heedless assignments are indulged in by professional scholars, there can be no critical settlement of any such problem.

There is really almost nothing in the first Act that can with the least technical plausibility be assigned to Peele, save the discourse of the third messenger in the first scene ; and that, on a careful study, is seen to be really Kyd's. It is Peeleish only in respect of its relapse to a feebler and slacker diction and a poorer rhythm than those which precede ; but the narrative manner

<sup>1</sup> "There angels in their crystal armours fight" (1 *Tamb.* v, ii).

"Like lovely Thetis in a crystal robe" (2 *Tamb.* III, iv).

"And clothe it in a crystal livery" (2 *Tamb.* I, iii, 4).

"The crystal sky" (2 *Tamb.* III, iii, end).

These instances (there are at least four more) of Marlowe's manifold use of "crystal" may serve to discourage further discussion of Hanmer's emendation of "crispèd" for "crystal" in our text, or of Roderick's "tristful" or "tresses in the crystal sky," to say nothing of Warburton's "cristed" or "crested." The eighteenth century men knew little of Marlowe.

<sup>2</sup> Peele copies "crystal armour" : he *could not* copy either the force or the movement of the whole.

cannot be at all closely paralleled in Peele, while it can in Kyd. The verse movement of those two is not much unlike ; but the manner of clause-compilation and ligature here is like Kyd and unlike Peele. And to liken either the diction or the rhythm, the purport or the manner, of the opening scene-section to anything signed by Peele or hitherto commonly ascribed to him, is impossible on critical lines.

On the other hand, the apostrophic manner of

Hung be the heavens with black, yield day to night !  
Comets, importing change of times and states,

and the *motifs* of Gloucester's speech :

England ne'er had a king until his time.  
Virtue<sup>1</sup> he had, deserving to command ;  
His *brandish'd sword* did blind men with his beams ;  
~~His arms~~ spread wider than a dragon's wings ;  
His sparkling eyes, replete with wrathful fire,  
More dazzled and drove back his enemies  
Than mid-day sun fierce bent against their faces ;

and Exeter's :

We mourn in black : why mourn we not in blood ?  
Henry is dead, and never shall revive.  
Upon a wooden coffin we attend,  
And death's *dishonourable victory*  
We with our stately presence glorify,  
Like captives bound to a triumphant car,

are those of a dozen rants in TAMBURLAINE.

Earth, cast up fountains from thy ent(e)rails,  
And wet thy cheeks for their untimely deaths ;  
Shake with their weight in sign of fear and grief !  
*Blush, heaven*, that gave them honour at their birth,  
And let them die a death so barbarous.

1 *Tamb.* v, i.

Black is the beauty of the brightest day ;  
The golden ball of heaven's eternal fire,  
That danc'd with glory on the silver waves,  
Now wants the fuel that inflam'd his beams ;  
And all with faintness, and for foul disgrace,  
He binds his temples with a frowning cloud,  
Ready to darken earth with endless night.

2 *Tamb.* II, iv.

<sup>1</sup> A Marlowe use :

Virtue solely is the sum of glory (1 *Tamb.* v, ii).

Your sacred virtues poured upon his throne (2 *Tamb.* v, iii).

Proud fury, and intolerable fit,  
That dares torment the body of my love,  
And scourge the scourge of the immortal God !

2 *Tamb.* II, iv.

So burn the turrets of this cursed town ;  
Flame to the highest region of the air,  
And kindle heaps of exhalations  
That, *being fiery meteors, may presage*  
*Death and destruction to the inhabitants !*  
Over my zenith hang a blazing star . . .  
Threatening a dearth and famine to this land !

2 *Tamb.* III, ii.

Weep, heavens, and vanish into liquid tears !  
Fall, stars that govern his nativity,  
And summon all the shining lamps of heaven  
To cast their bootless fires to the earth  
And shed their feeble influence in the air . . .  
. . . Death with armies of Cimmerian spirits  
Gives battle 'gainst the heart of Tamburlaine.

2 *Tamb.* v, iii.

His fiery eyes are fix'd upon the earth  
As if he now devis'd some stratagem,  
Or meant to pierce Avernus' darksome vaults,  
To pull the triple-headed dog from hell.

1 *Tamb.* I, ii.

As princely lions, when they rouse themselves,  
Stretching their paws, and threatening herds of beasts,  
So in his armour looketh Tamburlaine.  
Methinks I see kings kneeling at his feet,  
And he with frowning brows and fiery looks  
Spurning their crowns from off their captive heads.

1 *Tamb.* I, ii.

Till anyone explains wherein these declamations express a "passion" not be found in 1 HENRY VI, we are really bound to recognise the kinship. When we further note the constant identity of the versification—the swift line-making stride that partly countervails the monochronous ending of the phrase *with* the line, the firm fluency and the comparative rhythmic monotony—the parallelism is so complete that nothing but a blind resort to the Imitation Theory can arrest the inference of identity of authorship. Yet that inference has been



so far successfully missed by the commentators as apart from the critics; and Coleridge's emphatic verdict, is still largely left unconsidered.

One painstaking but miscarrying editor, already discussed, the late H. C. Hart, has sought to repel it in his edition of 1 HENRY VI in the 'Arden' series. Reaching what he admits to be a "confusing result, arrived at after a prolonged examination," he pronounces that

"Although we find Greene's methods of expression in so many places, the general style is not that of Greene; it is much toned down and *tamer*. *Still less* does the poetry recall Marlowe; it is *devoid* of his special grandeur or *inflation*, or *rant*, whichever one chooses to call it—it is seldom worthy of him, and anything of Marlowe [*sic*] in this play is more easily regarded as due to his influence, often apparent in Shakespeare's early work, or to *imitation* of him, most natural in an aspiring dramatist who aimed at such successes as the author of TAM-BURLAINE had recently achieved. Assuredly, however, Greene had a hand in the composition."<sup>1</sup>

That is to say, the style is not Greene's, but his hand is assuredly present: the poetry is devoid of Marlowe's special marks; it is seldom worthy of him; yet it is marked by imitation of him, and the inferior imitator must be Shakespeare!

This disconcerting pronouncement appears to be the result of conflicting influences. Mr. Hart is understood to have had the use and the reversion of the late W. J. Craig's valuable collections illustrative of Elizabethan vocabulary; and there he appears to have found a number of notes connecting the vocabulary and phraseology of the HENRY VI plays specially with Greene. These important notes he embodies, with no adequate collation of the vocabulary of Marlowe, who can so often be cited for the same words and phrases. And, finding his guide concentrating on *Greene*, he not only rejects Marlowe as possible author but offers arguments to show that at notable points in the first Act the style-marks are much more characteristic of *Peele*—whom he indicates as Shakespeare's "collaborator" in modifying Greene—

<sup>1</sup> Introd. cited, pp. xi-xii.

than of Marlowe. Noting such "transpositions" as "Hung be the heavens with black" (I, i, 1), "Rescued is Orléans from the English" (I, vi, 2), and "For by my mother I derivèd am" (II, v, 74), he observes that "This inversion occurs *several times* in Peele's ARRAIGNMENT OF PARIS as I have noted (1584):

"Done be the pleasure of the powers above (*Prologue*).

Fair Lady Venus, let me pardon'd be (III, ii, p. 363*a*).<sup>1</sup>

The man must 'quited be by heaven's laws (IV, p. 366*b*).

Her name that governs there Eliza is (v, i, 369*a*).

Bequeathèd is unto thy worthiness (*Id.* p. 370*b*)."

Adding that more instances will be found in SIR GUY RICHMOND, he cites from Marlowe:

Discomfited is all the Christian host

(2 *Tamb.* II, iii, 1);

Till heaven dissolvèd be (v, iii);

also the "Cut is the branch," at the end of FAUSTUS (*without* the line which follows), and two more "supplied by a friend":

Erected is a castle passing strong (*Faustus*).

Broken is the league (*Jew of Malta*, III, iv);

upon which he makes the cryptic remark: "Both too late to be of service here." The paragraph ends: "There may be better. *But no such prevalence as in Peele.*" In the face of such sheer misguidance it is necessary to indicate the facts.<sup>2</sup>

The types of line and phrase in question are really as common in Marlowe as anywhere else, common as they are in the drama and poetry of the period. Greene has them by the hundred. As against the *five* instances

<sup>1</sup> Of Dyce's ed. of Greene and Peele.

<sup>2</sup> In his own note on II, v, 74, Mr. Hart obliviously avows that such inversion as "I derivèd am" was *very much used* by Spenser, Peele, Marlowe, and Greene.

cited from Peele, already more than balanced by *six* from Marlowe, we may note these:—

Vexed and tormented runs poor Barabas (*Jew*, II, i, 5).

Vailed is your pride : methinks you hang the heads  
(*Ed. II*, III, iii).

Fair blows the wind for France (*Id.* IV, i, 1).

O that I might this life in quiet lead (*Id.* IV, vi).

Admir'd I am of those that hate me most (Prol. to *Jew*).

Feared am I more than loved (*Ed. II*, v, iv).

Now in their glories shine the golden crowns  
(2 *Tamb.* IV, i, 1).

Now lie the Christians bathing in their bloods (*Id.* II, iii).

Then feels your Majesty no sovereign ease ? (*Id.* v, iii).

Black is the beauty of the brightest day (*Id.* II, iv, 1).

Advantage takes of your unreadiness (1 *Tamb.* IV, i).

Do shame her worst, I will disclose my grief  
(*Dido*, III, iv).

Grant she or no, Æneas must away (*Id.* IV, iii, 7).

Bootless, I saw, it was to war with fate (*Id.* III, ii).

Thy son, thou know'st, with Dido now remains (*Id.* *ib.*).

She likewise in admiring spends her time (*Id.* *ib.*).

This day they both a-hunting forth will ride (*Id.* *ib.*).

When I leave thee, death be my punishment (*Id.* IV, iv).

The sun from Egypt shall rich odours bring (*Id.* v, i, 11).

Repair'd not I thy ships, made thee a king ? (*Id.* v, ii).

Enamour'd of his beauty had he been  
(*Hero and Leander*, i, l. 78).

Less sins the poor rich man, that starves himself  
(*Id.* i, l. 243).

But long this blessed time continu'd not (*Id.* i, l. 459).

Curs'd be the parents that engender'd me  
(*Faustus*, end).

Some have we fir'd, and many have we sunk  
(*Jew*, II, ii, 15).

Two dozen extra instances out of hundreds may suffice,<sup>1</sup> provided it be realised that such lines in *HENRY VI* as:

Ordained is to raise this tedious siege (I, ii, 53)

are absolutely in Marlowe's *accidence* no less than they are his in their diction, their phrasing, and their verse movement—a movement perceptibly different from that of Greene; while the diction of the speeches we have been considering, though certainly not of Marlowe's best, is quite abreast of much of *TAMBURLAINE* and no less obviously superior in energy to the diction of Peele. Plain marks of Greene and (apparently) of Peele we shall find later, but not at the outset, save, as aforesaid, for a small Greene patch in the first scene. The *opening* speeches have neither their *tempo* nor their *timbre*; and even as rant the language is mostly more vibrant and forceful than anything of theirs. Its very sins, of extravagance and inequality, are Marlowe's.

Marlowe certainly did not write the whole play. Even in the first Act, which can be shown to be substantially his, there appear to be two intervening hands; and the manner of the intervention is suggestive of the methods of collaboration. The outstanding structural aspect of the Act is the wildly impossible advent of three messengers announcing as actual all the future events above mentioned. This might be supposed to be adequately done by the original single messenger; but there is a process of eking out. Even in the first messenger's announcement there is a hortatory section of thirteen lines, from line 69 to line 81, penned in the specially rapid iambic manner of Greene, introducing the new historic absurdity of an impossible scolding of the chief peers of England, immediately on the death of Henry V, by a nameless news-bearer, whom they would have instantly struck down for his presumption. When we note in this speech the verbal clues of the scansion

<sup>1</sup> In the translation of Ovid's *Elegies* there are hundreds. It may be that his practice there in inversions, as in double-ended rhymes, affected his blank verse.

*maintain*, which (apart from Nashe) appears to be special to Greene<sup>1</sup> among the Marlowe group, and the word "guileful," found only, I think, in his work and in Kyd (*S. and P.* II, i, 154),<sup>2</sup> the inference from the style and the verse-movement is reinforced. And the concluding lines, specifying "the flower-de-luces in your arms," and "England's coat," hint of a previous knowledge of I, v, 28.

As Marlowe's manner, movement and diction had marked the lines 57-68, and are resumed at line 82, the impossible harangue (so closely comparable in style to much of the writing in JAMES IV<sup>3</sup>) appears to have been absolutely inserted in his text; a thing the more readily conceivable when we recognise that soon after this time Greene appears to have recast the Countess scēnes in EDWARD III, where again Marlowe is the opener, and the presumable draftsman<sup>4</sup> of the first form. And, just as in that play we appear to have Kyd intervening in subsidiary fashion, so we seem to trace him here. One of the features of Kyd's earlier dramatic method is a special resort to narrative; and the speech of the third messenger in the first scēne of I HENRY VI, eking it out no less obviously than the moral allocution of the first messenger, recalls us at once to cognate matter in the SPANISH TRAGEDY. To Kyd are reasonably assignable the speeches of the Mariner in Act III of EDWARD III,<sup>5</sup> and this contribution to I HENRY VI, though later, appears to stand exactly on the same footing, that of narrative eking out dramatic dialogue.

<sup>1</sup> *F.B.*, IV, iii; *George-a-Greene*, II, iii. Greene at times has also the scansion *maintain*; but such variations are common in Elizabethan verse.

<sup>2</sup> Also in *Titus* (V, i, 104) where it is assignable to one of them.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Act V, Scene iv, beginning:

My friends, what think you of this present state?  
Were ever seen such changes in a time?  
The manners and the fashions of this age  
Are, like the ermine-skin, so full of spots,  
As sooner may the Moor be washed white  
Than these corruptions banished from this realm.

But this is the blank-verse movement of the whole play, and the use of "mutterèd" by the messenger points to the equivalent force of "muttering" in *James IV*, IV, v.

<sup>4</sup> See *Introduction to the Canon*, pp. 22, 306 seq., 377, 379 seq.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, p. 383.

The speech of the messenger has all the limpness and prolixity of Kyd's poetic manner, and the versification is no less like him. When, further, we note in the first two lines:—

My gracious lords, to add to your laments,  
Wherewith you now bedew King Henry's hearse,

an echo of one of his repeated phrases:

There laid him down, and dewed him with my tears  
(S.T. I, iv, 36);

And will ye needs bedew my dead-grown joys  
(*Cornelia*, II, i, 1);

And dewes him with her tears (*Id.* III, i, 12);

And dew yourselves with springtide of my tears (*Id.* v, 420);

and, further, the sudden rise in the percentage of double-endings,<sup>1</sup> the ascription is strengthened<sup>2</sup>; and the strong impression of his hand in Anne's entering speech in RICHARD III goes to build up the general inference that at this period, as earlier, he was collaborating frequently, albeit on a small scale, with his then friend Marlowe. The only alternative views are that he and Greene had been called in by the players to lengthen the opening scene; or that Marlowe, recasting his play late in 1591 or early in 1592, had asked their help.<sup>3</sup>

Marlowe appears clearly to re-enter with Bedford's speech:

His ransom there is none but I shall pay,

<sup>1</sup> Six in one speech of 33 lines (18 per cent.). Kyd, as I have elsewhere noted, was one of the first to follow Marlowe's lead in this regard—e.g. SOLIMAN AND ARDEN.

<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that the special archaic use of "dismal" (=fierce, noted by Hart *in loc.*) in the phrase "dismal fight," is echoed in *Macbeth* (I, ii, 53: "dismal conflict") in a passage generally recognised as non-Shakespearean. I have already suggested (*Canon*, Part III, p. 168) that the peculiar style of the declamation here assimilates to that of the peculiarly mannered rants of Benvolio (I, ii, 3; III, i, 157) in *Romeo and Juliet*, and that the hand might be Kyd's. (This on the view that there was a pre-Shakespearean *Macbeth*, of which the sergeant scene is a survival.) When, then, we find in Kyd the phrase "dismal planets" (*S. and P.* I, v, 78), with the force of "angry" or "hostile," as well as in the ordinary sense (as "dismal tale": *Id.* I, i, 9), the surmise is somewhat reinforced.

<sup>3</sup> Much previous matter must have been cancelled. Though the Roses scene and the Talbot scenes, in particular, have been added, Part I remains the shortest of the three *Henry VI* plays.

knitting up the action to the close of the scene. In these thirty lines there are some half a dozen of the inversions in which, as we have seen, Marlowe abounds; whereas there is barely one ("A Talbot! a Talbot! cried out amain") in the thirty-four lines here assigned to Kyd.<sup>1</sup> And it is no less clearly Marlowe's hand that concludes the scene and pens the next, in which Joan la Pucelle is so chivalrously introduced. Diction and style are his throughout. It is needless to collate

Thou hast astonished me with thy high terms,  
with

Threatening the world with high astounding terms,

or to compare vocabularies: whosoever can recognise Marlowe in the opening scene-section will recognise him here. Question arises, indeed, at the opening of Scene iii, where, in the first altercation, we twice have the scansion "Glou-ces-ter," which does not appear to be Marlowe's usage, but *is* the scansion used by Kyd (*S.T.* i, v, 26). Then, seeing that we have "it is (? 'tis) Glou-ces-ter that calls," in line 4; and again "here's Gloster *that* would enter," in line 16, it may well be that Kyd has inserted most of the preliminary section, up to the entrance of Winchester. But the rest of the scene would seem to be mainly Marlowe's, though, as we shall see later, Scene iv, up to the entrance of the Messenger who first names Joan, is assignable to Kyd, Marlowe resuming in Scene v.

The concluding speech of Charles in Scene vi, which maintains the note of tribute to The Maid, is for a Marlowe student as unmistakably his as the opening scene of the play:

A statelier pyramis to her I'll rear  
Than Rhodope's of <sup>2</sup> Memphis ever was:  
In memory of her when she is dead,  
Her ashes, in an urn more precious  
Than the rich-jewell'd coffer of Darius,  
Transported shall be at high festivals—

<sup>1</sup> Not that Kyd eschewed inversions; but that, as will appear below, his insertion here is *late*, and belongs to the recast.

<sup>2</sup> The reading *or* is clearly a printer's error.

the movement, the manner, the matter that may be marked as most typically Marlowese.<sup>1</sup> It is only in the next Act, where the attitude to Joan alters, that there arises a question of another hand than Marlowe's at work throughout a scene or a scene-section dealing with Joan of Arc. And the first thing to be predicated of the inferable new hand is that, whosoever it may be, it certainly is not Shakespeare's, if 'Shakespeare's early form is to be divined from anything certainly his, from the opening scene of the ERRORS up to KING JOHN. Coming thus upon the problem of the authorship of the Pucelle scenes in the light of a scrutiny of the structure of the play as a whole and the mixed texture of the first Act, we may harbour a hope of a solution.

My friend Sir Israel Gollancz, in the preface to his scholarly 'Temple' edition of the HENRY VI plays has justly observed that "the opening lines of the play are sufficient to render it certain that I HENRY VI is not wholly Shakespeare's"; adding "and there can be little doubt that 'the hand of the Great Master is only occasionally perceptible therein.' Probably," he goes on, "we have an inferior production by some unknown dramatist, writing about 1589, to which 'Shakespeare made important 'additions' in the year 1591." Then he assigns to Shakespeare the Talbot death-scenes, and some share in the Margaret-Suffolk scene, and pronounces the Temple Garden scene "certainly Shakespeare's," though possibly added some years later. To our relief he is "sure that at no time in his career could he be guilty of the crude and vulgar presentment of Joan of Arc in the latter part of the play."

Yet in a footnote, mentioning that Dr. Furnivall sees at least four hands in the play, Professor Gollancz pronounces that "the attempt to determine the authorship is futile, owing to the absence of all evidence on the point." Now, he has confidently declared, as cited above, that

<sup>1</sup> Hart, *in loc.*, remarks that the illustration is "from" Greene, who often refers to Rhodope of Memphis in his prose. Hart ascribes the text, of course, to Shakespeare. But Marlowe was as likely to know the matter from Greene's allusions as Shakespeare was, and the *verse* is plainly Marlowe's. The "rich jewel" [not jewell'd] coffer of Darius comes from Puttenham.



the opening lines cannot be by Shakespeare, that the Temple Garden scene "certainly" is, and that the Talbot death-scenes are Shakespeare's also. For these assignments he has no sort of evidence *save what lies in the scenes themselves*.

To say, then, that "all evidence on the point of authorship" is "absent," and that to attempt to determine the authorship is "futile," is to propound a contradiction in terms. My friend has evidently not realised the commitments he makes either by his assignments or by his negation. If it is possible to be sure that the opening lines are *not* by Shakespeare, and that the Temple Garden scene *is* by him, it is inferably possible to assign the other scenes also, since there is precisely the same *kind* of evidence available in those cases as in the others—to wit, the internal evidence of style, upon which he has actually proceeded.

I shall be surprised if, when the case is thus considered, Professor Gollancz should maintain his negation. But I should still be surprised if, in the face of the strong case against his actual assignments, he confidently adhered to them. They were part of a compromise which has never been critically examined.

## CHAPTER II

### THE PUCELLE SCENES

#### § I

On the principles followed in this inquiry, the question of Shakespeare's responsibility for the Joan of Arc scenes must be tried, and can only be settled, by the application of the tests of style, diction, phraseology and versification to each scene in turn. But it is hardly possible to study this problem without considering the contingent question of its bearing upon our notions of Shakespeare's mind. That has been so often raised that it would be an affectation to leave it out of sight. Even in the discussion on HENRY VIII, the starting-point in the argument which assigned parts of the play to Fletcher was the inferior quality of the thought in the portions finally ascribed to him; and where there arise questions alike of the intellectual and the moral texture of dubious matter, neither issue can be evaded. In the modern period, in which such questions have become more and more insistent, the moral issue has been pronounced upon in terms of both views of Shakespeare's responsibility.

Lecky, writing in full view of the dispute, flatly declared that "Shakespeare, like most of the other dramatists of his time, again and again referred to the belief [in sorcery]; and we owe to it that melancholy picture of Joan of Arc, which is, perhaps, the darkest blot upon his genius."<sup>1</sup> Swinburne, always alive in some fashion to literary morals, delivered the more intelligent if more heated judgment that

"As we are certain that [Shakespeare] cannot have written the opening scene, that he was at any stage of his career in-

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*, ed. 1887, i, 105.

capable of it, so may we believe as well as hope that he is guiltless of any complicity in that detestable part of the play which attempts to defile the memory of the virgin saviour of her country. [Note by Swinburne. "One thing is certain: that damnable last scene, at which the gorge rises even to remember it, is in execution as unlike the crudest phase of Shakespeare's style as in conception it is unlike the idlest birth of his spirit. Let us hope that so foul a thing could not have been done in even tolerably good verse."] In style it is not, I think, above the range of George Peele at his best: and to have written even the last of those scenes can add but little discredit to the memory of a man already disgraced as the defamer of Eleanor of Castile; while it would be a relief to feel assured that there was but one English poet of any genius who could be capable of either villainy."<sup>1</sup>

This point of view does not appear to be shared by all Shakespeareans; and indeed Swinburne's way of reaching his judgments on a leap of feeling is seldom satisfying. He who found that Shakespeare *must* have written ARDEN OF FEVERSHAM, and proclaimed it without once asking whether ARDEN is in the *verse* of Shakespeare; he who wrote that Shakespeare cannot have written EDWARD III *because* he "was the author of HENRY V"—this censor never saw criticism as a process of reasoning, whether he were wrong or right. But at least he came nearer reason in this case than did the opposition. From Sir E. K. Chambers we have the austere reflection that

"Sentimental persons have sometimes professed [*sic*] to be shocked at the inglorious [*sic*] part assigned to Joan of Arc in HENRY THE SIXTH, and have consoled themselves with the reflection that Shakespeare was dependent upon his sources and that, if he depicted The Maid as a wanton and a practiser with evil spirits, this was only because he found her so represented in the chronicles and had no material for arriving at a truer historic judgment. Certainly the process of rehabilitation was not before Shakespeare, and the argument is sound so far as it goes. But it rather begs the question by assuming that Shakespeare or any other English national playwright would have cared very much whether he was unjust [*sic*] to a French heroine or not. It was the quality of England, not of France, that he set out to celebrate, and it may be admitted that patriotic fervour is by no means always touched with the

<sup>1</sup> *A Study of Shakespeare*, ed. 1918, pp. 33-4.

quixotic [!] generousities of a Sidney, and is frequently accompanied by the very natural desire to make out its enemies as no better than they ought to be."<sup>1</sup>

"Sentimental" is one of Sir Edmund's favourite openings<sup>2</sup> against opinions which he sees no way of repelling by argument, though the "professed" in the foregoing passage seems to reduce it to vacuity. Sentimental people might surely be supposed actually to have sentiments. As it happens, Sir Edmund was antenatally excommunicated in terms of his own formula by a critic who dismissed as sentimentalists everybody who condemns the tactics of Helena in *ALL'S WELL*. Sir Edmund has nevertheless permitted himself that indulgence. Nay, he has gone so far as to insert in his *SURVEY* of the plays a sentimental Sonnet—not a bad one, either—in which he appeals to the shade of Shakespeare for moral support in war time. The collation of that with his tolerant attitude towards the matter which moved Swinburne to loathing sets up a doubt as to whether the critic has ever taken much trouble to balance his critical accounts.

To dismiss as merely "unjust" a scene in which a dramatist has grossly set forth a series of foul aspersions for some of which he has absolutely no authority even in the hostile chronicles available to him, is to indicate not even a concern to face the issue. If it be sentimentalism to feel that such a libeller was a person whom one would not like to meet at dinner, it would seem at least to be a more defensible form of the indulgence than that which invokes Shakespeare to support our *moral* in war time while avowing that he is likely enough, out of patriotic sentiment, to have defiled the grave of a French heroine who had once patriotically helped to defeat English forces.

It is indeed a quaint phenomenon—fitted to "strike a man more dead than a great reckoning in a little room"—that the scholar who is thus affably disposed to filch from Shakespeare his good name, leaving him morally

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare: A Survey*, 1925, pp. 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Shakespeare Canon*, Part III, pp. 16-18, 194.

castrate and "eyeless in Gaza at the mill with slaves," should be also the pundit who academically protested that to deprive the master, by criticism, of the discredit of most of the poor work in the Folio, would be to leave the phoenix "a naked gull." This to the satisfaction, in both cases, of respectable audiences, for whom it was merely quixotic on Sidney's part to speak of "the sweet enemy, France."

Those, however, who honestly recognise the substantial justice of Swinburne's blow, and who have not found consolation in the plea which Sir Edmund declares to be a sound argument so far as it goes, may perhaps find a sounder consolation in the thesis—should they find it proved—that the worst of the Pucelle scenes is certainly not of Shakespeare's writing, and is very probably of Peele's. After all, our moral relation to Shakespeare inevitably counts for something in our critical conception of him, as it seems to have done even for Sir E. K. Chambers in war time. That our supreme dramatist should have been capable at a pinch of extreme baseness is a hypothesis hard to reconcile with even our notion of him as a great artist, to say nothing of him as a moral force; and the dismissal of the difficulty as "sentimental" may finally be suspected as a symptom of critical bankruptcy. On any view, the problem of authorship is not so to be disposed of.

For ultimate æsthetic purposes, it will be found, there is a further-reaching gain than that involved in relieving Shakespeare from the responsibility of drafting the worst scenes in 1 HENRY VI. A gifted dramatic critic<sup>1</sup> has seen fit thus to indict the Master:—

Shakespeare's attitude towards women and sex always seems to me rather priggish and revolting, and nowhere more so than in this play [MEASURE FOR MEASURE]. Purifying heroines was one of his incorrigible bad habits. He stood himself in too intimate a relationship with them to allow anybody with whom he could not identify himself to touch them. Just as he purified Portia in 'The Merchant of Venice,' so he purified Isabella in 'Measure for Measure.' Turn to the source from which this comedy is taken and you will find that the original Isabella

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Herbert Farjeon in *The Weekly Westminster*, Nov. 21, 1925.

does give herself to Angelo to save her brother's life. It was Shakespeare who, with his passionately jealous nature, refused to let her perform this act of self-sacrifice, and who, realising that he was a bit of a hound for it, tried to excuse the new attitude by putting Isabella into a convent, as who should say, Nuns will be nuns, or novitiates novitiates. Of course, all the commentators, with the professed morals of schoolmasters, praise the poet for making heroism safe for the Upper Fourth. "Shakespeare improves on the original plot by saving the virtue of the sister without altering the situation." But is a situation anything apart from the attitude towards it of those whom it involves? It seems to me that Shakespeare changes the situation completely, taking all the heart out of it for the sake of what he deems to be the soul.

So rings the new critical note of the age in which young women wear kilts, and some young men divided skirts. The writer who thus pleasantly indicts Shakespeare for the incorrigibly bad habit of "purifying heroines" would seem to be at least barred from ascribing to him the authorship of HENRY VI. He would seem almost committed to extol him for denigrating Joan. But the critic's assumption that he knows all about Shakespeare's procedure in play-making is still grievously provocative of scepticism. To say nothing of the odd thesis that Isabella, who in the play plans with the Duke to send Mariana to the arms of Angelo, has been unduly "purified," there are difficulties in the way of the remaining assumptions. Readers who have looked into the previous sections of this inquiry may recall that there are very strong grounds for doubting whether it was Shakespeare who recast the old play. And if we see reason to decide that it was not, those exercises in painting Shakespeare's mental portrait by deduction from an unanalysed canon become for us even more unprofitable than the pronouncements of commentators with the professed morals of schoolmasters. The lock of Shakespeare's heart is really not to be picked by any substitution of new fashions in sex morals for older fashions. The time for plausible inference about Shakespeare's attitude to life will not be reached till we dig down for ourselves to the literary facts which alike for the old and new moralists in

question are buried in an unscrutinised tradition. And an excavation in the case of the Pucelle scenes is long overdue.

## § 2

On the face of the case the Pucelle scenes show deep diversity alike of style and sentiment; and there is much plausibility in the suggestion of Mr. G. B. Shaw<sup>1</sup> that whereas *The Maid* is at first presented in a favourable and even a romantic light, the theatre authorities insisted on another handling in order to conciliate the groundlings. As we have seen, the opening presentment is in the manner, diction, versification, we may even say the sentiment, of Marlowe. Scene vi of Act I, found anywhere else, would be denied him by hardly any critic save Dr. Tucker Brooke, who has resolved to give the play as a whole to the impossible Peele, because in his opinion it lacks "passion"; and Scene ii, in which *The Maid* is introduced, is certainly from the same hand. In both, she is portrayed with romantic sympathy, as by a chivalrous foe, whom Sir E. K. Chambers would call quixotic; and the masculine gibes of Reignier and Alençon are exactly in the tone and manner of those of the brothers of Edward IV at his interview with Lady Gray in the *DUKE OF YORK*—reproduced in 3 *HENRY VI*, III, ii—a scene confidently to be assigned to Marlowe, even in the view of Dr. Brooke.

A few verbal clues, taken singly, point to Greene, Peele, and Kyd; but most even of these implicate Marlowe also; and as all three of the others echoed his vocabulary and phraseology, such clues cannot avail against the decisive lead of the tests of style and versification. None of the others has ever so combined force and freedom of movement within the line-ended form. The one possible competitor in *these* respects would be Shakespeare; and though we can still find editors and critics who assign to him even the worst of the Pucelle scenes, the majority of the well-known

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to *Saint Joan*, p. xxvii.

critics who have handled the play do not ascribe to him even the best. So to assign the Pucelle scenes of the first Act would be to accuse him once more of mesmerised imitation of Marlowe, and that to the extent of slavishly copying the end-stopped form, which in his earliest unquestionable work he has wholly transcended.

The fact that Scene ii partly reverts to historical truth by showing the Dauphin still uncrowned, and Orléans still besieged, after Orléans had been declared in Scene i to be lost with Guyenne and Paris, might be founded on as barring the ascription of both passages to Marlowe—especially if, with Dr. Allison Gaw, we refuse to see that there was a form of the play *before* 1592. But the chronological chaos pervades the play; and the opening alarm may have been inserted as a mere general cry of panic. On the other hand, the story of the third Messenger, representing Talbot (i, 3) as captured when "retiring from the siege of Orléans," we have seen to be certainly from another hand, in all likelihood Kyd's; while the reversion in line 157 to "Orléans is besieged" suggests strongly that the second Messenger, who tells that the Dauphin is crowned, has been an added item equally with the third, and the insertion by Greene in the message of the first.

We are thus left with a first scene that had been originally of Marlowe's sole drafting; and one upon which Scene ii, also of his drafting, properly follows. And since the possible later insertions in Scene iii are as likely as the other additions to belong to the recast, the entire first Act is to be held as originally Marlowe's, albeit probably on the basis of an older "actors' play."

Seeing, then, that the whole of Act i in its first form is reasonably assignable to Marlowe, and that even the later insertions do not affect the sympathetic presentment of the "holy maid," the original plan is to be regarded as worthy enough. It is in the second Act, where there are grounds in style and diction, as well as in substance, for inferring further adaptation, that the presentment of Joan becomes not only dramatically but essentially hostile, though the dramatic balance is not



yet wholly overturned. It is however quite lost at the end of Scene iii of Act iii, when the Pucelle, after persuading Burgundy by her eloquence to turn to the Dauphin's alliance (which he did not actually do till four years after her death), murmurs aside :

Done like a Frenchman : turn, and turn again !

Upon which the reader, perhaps, will agree with Clark that "the sneer is so out of place in Joan's mouth that it is inconceivable that Shakespeare should have assigned it to her"<sup>1</sup>; though Mr. Hart sees fit to contend that "Joan of Lorraine would not hesitate to speak thus of the French people"—a perversity which hardly merits discussion by any one who has studied Joan's career.<sup>2</sup> Nor is it more readily credible that Marlowe should have so defaced his scene—for his it must be if it is not Greene's.

It is in Scenes iii and iv of Act v that the opening plan is completely and offensively reversed; and here, though Darmesteter,<sup>3</sup> unstudious of Greene, sees the hand of Shakespeare in Scene iii,<sup>4</sup> it is no more possible for the vigilant critic to assent to that than to ascribe to him the second, the odious finale of the Pucelle episode. Mr. Hart's deliverances on the subject inspire a sad astonishment. At the close of his opening note on Act v (p. 133) he avows that "Very few traces of Shakespeare's work appear in this Act. *From Scene iii onwards, none.*" Yet in his third note on Scene iv he writes (p. 147): "Without finding Marlowe's own work in this, as in other doubtful plays, we find his influence on Shakespeare, for *this scene is Shakespeare's own.*" A certain latitude of inconsistency is desirable for all of us; but Mr. Hart here has exceeded the permissible.

<sup>1</sup> Cited by Hart, *in loc.*

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that the English charge of fickleness against Frenchmen subsists to this day. Thus a recent "thriller" has the sentence: "Being a Frenchman, he turned quickly." The two peoples can be trusted to reciprocate such impeachments with an equal zeal; but perhaps French students may be invited to note that in England the formula is not commonly reckoned Shakespearean.

<sup>3</sup> *Nouvelles études anglaises*, 1896, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Only the sorcery scene does he ascribe to Shakespeare in "cette farce historique, écrite pour les applaudissements de la canaille."

Such unexampled editorial self-contradiction definitely excludes all claim to critical authority; but it is expedient to set forth in detail the nullity of all the items of argument by which Mr. Hart supports his second proposition.

As has been before remarked, he sets aside in these cases every test of authorship save those of trivial and indeed worthless verbal and phraseological clues. That of moral congruity is of course ignored absolutely; but equally so are the tests of versification, style, and diction, save for unhappy attempts to fasten on Shakespeare certain terms and phrases which are one and all the common property of his early corrivals. Thus (1) the critic pronounces *timeless* "a Shakespearean word" while admitting that it is "a regular Marlowe use," and further notes its use by Peele, as he might further have done in regard to Kyd. The word is common coin of the period.

(2) No less perversely he comments on the phrase (l. 15) "this argues" (which occurs in OTHELLO, III, iv, 38, and, without the *this*, in the disputed 2 HENRY VI, III, iii, 30), that "This is evidence of Shakespeare, *if needs be*." It seems evident that Mr. Hart's editorial work on this play had small supervision from Mr. Craig, then (1908) the general editor of the 'Arden' series. "This argues" is a perfectly normal phrase in pre-Shakespearean drama, found frequently in Marlowe and Kyd and Greene, and occurring also in Peele (BATTLE).

(3) The poor pun of Joan's father on the word "noble" is declared to be made "in a quite Shakespearean way." Such a comment might serve to discredit once for all the unhappy habit of tracing Shakespeare by puns. This one, as it happens, is made "in a quite Peelean way" (see p. 25 above), and yet also in a Greenean way.

(4) The phrase "good my girl" is declared to be "a favourite transposition of Shakespeare's, occurring in the majority of the plays." It might have occurred even

to a tiro that such a usage *could not* be special to Shakespeare. Suffice it to note here :

Good my lord. Peele, *Edward I.* (Dyce's G. and P. p. 387a.)

Good my lord. *Troublesome Raigne of King John*, Pt. I, i, ii —a passage reasonably assignable (as by Mr. Dugdale Sykes) to Peele.

Good my lords. *King Leir and his Three Daughters*. Hazlitt's Shak. Library, p. 322. (A scene by Kyd or Peele.)

Good my friend. *Id.* II, iv (p. 332). Hand doubtful

Good my friend. *Id.* II, ix (p. 341). Hand doubtful.

Good my friend. *Id.* III, iv (p. 353). Hand doubtful.

Good my lord. Twice in I, viii, *Massacre at Paris*.

(5) Still worse, if possible, is the note on line 32 : "*drab*] strumpet. Frequent in Shakespeare." There is really nothing more nugatory in the literature of Baconics, filled as that is with attempts to identify Bacon with Shakespeare on the score of the use of words by both which were used by everybody else in their day.

It will probably be admitted by serious students that such a series of untenable positions is sufficient to discredit the entire argument by which the 'Arden' editor sought to claim for Shakespeare the authorship of the scene in question ; and that the fitting course is to set the entire polemic aside and re-examine the problem independently. The scene may fairly be pronounced, alike as to matter and as to manner, the most un-Shakespearean in the whole play. Only those critics who, like Mr. Hart, cling blindly to the Folio tradition—or, like Kenny, are impelled to see in Shakespeare's genius every possible flaw, or, like Sir E. K. Chambers, feel bound to impute sentimentalism to all who outrun his editorial decisions—have ever discredited Shakespeare with this. On the score of "energy" of execution, some give him the Roses scene ; some the Talbot scenes : no critic of the nineteenth century who sought to discriminate at all scientifically has ever assigned to him this—or, for that matter, any Pucelle scene at all. Follow-

ing Farmer, Morgann, Malone, Drake, Dyce, Bathurst, and Walker, the later critics—as Furnivall, Dowden, and Gollancz, expressly deny Shakespeare's hand in the final "frame-up." As we have seen, though Sir E. K. Chambers is fain to prove himself unsentimental by charging sentimentalism on all whose sentiment is not fantastic, Dr. Allison Gaw wholly detaches the evil climax from Shakespeare, save at one point. If, then, even those critics were wrong as to the Roses scene and the Talbot scenes, the wrongness of the ascription to him of the Pucelle scenes may be regarded as particularly probable.

The question for those who do recognise differences of hand is whether, after the first Act, where Marlowe's hand is so clearly recognisable, those scenes are still Marlowe's work, or Greene's, or Peele's, or from yet another hand; or whether, it may be, Marlowe edited and touched up a variety of contributions to the amazing medley which he had begun.

### § 3

Returning to Act II, we find reason to regard the first scene as part of the process of recasting revealed in Act I. The natural sequence of the killing of Salisbury in I, iv, and the subsequent recovery of Orléans by the French, would be Salisbury's burial; but there is inserted before it in Act II the harebrained historical invention of the capture of Orléans by the English after the French success; Salisbury lying meanwhile unburied. If I, iv, and II, i-ii were simultaneously composed, the recast was heedless in the extreme; and the inference of separate hands is almost compulsory.

On the other hand, I, iv, is in itself feebly begun, the gunner and his son absurdly informing each other of what they are and what they have been doing; and the scene shows, apart from Talbot's recital of his experiences as prisoner, a higher percentage of double-endings (17+) than the rest of Act I as a whole. That

matter, then, must itself belong to the recast.<sup>1</sup> In any case, the first scene of Act II, though not high in double-endings, appears also to belong to the recast, and in respect of style and vocabulary it suggests another hand than Marlowe's. The following vocabulary clues, for instance, point not to Marlowe but to Greene:—

*Court of Guard* (see Greene's *Orlando*, I, ii (twice) also I, iii, and II, i). Hart admits the phrase to be a corruption, by Greene, of *corps de gard*.

*To quittance*. (Verb not used in Marlowe's accepted work; common in Greene's prose. See also *Orlando*, II, i, l. 499; v, i, l. 1268.)

*Own arm's fortitude* (= strength. Cp. *Othello*, I, iii, 222). Occurs in *Edward III*, III, iii, closing section, with other clues, which chiefly point to Greene and Peele. The whole scene is un-Marlowesque, though it includes Marlowe's word *unrelenting* (*2 Tamb.* v, iii) which occurs in *1 H. VI*, v, iv. Nowhere does the word *fortitude* = strength occur in Marlowe's signed work, though, with this force, it was of old standing. And though we have not *fortitude* in Greene's signed work, we have "fortified thy weak and feeble arm" in *Alphonsus*, iv, iii, l. 1474 (Dyce, p. 242b).

*Platforms* (here = plans or stratagems. Used only literally, = a standing ground, in Shakespeare). Occurs in Marlowe only in *Dido* (v, ii), nearly in the literal sense of building-plans. Used metaphorically, as here, by Greene (*Selimus*, l. 1680; also in his prose, *Works*, viii, 41).

*Endamage*. Elsewhere in the Shakespeare Concordance only in *The Two Gentlemen*, III, ii, 43 (as I argue, a Greene use) and in *John* (noun), II, i, 209, probably derived by S. from his stage knowledge of *Edward III*, where it occurs (II, i, 378) in the Countess section, broadly ascribable to Greene. Greene also has *endamage* elsewhere (*Works*, vi, 221; xi, 150; *Selimus*, 1378). The occurrence in one line of two words partly special to Greene seems significant.

*I guess*. This is of course common; but it is also common in Greene.

*Martial* is in the same case; but in Greene it is as common as in Marlowe—occurring at least thirteen times in his plays.

*Default*. Frequent in Greene, who uses it in a similar context:

But if in due prevention you default  
How blind are you that were forewarn'd before!  
(*James IV*, III, iii).

It occurs at least six times in that play.

<sup>1</sup> Later, we shall see reason to ascribe it to Kyd.

The scene as a whole, further, is sufficiently marked by the vivacious iambic movement of Greene to be conceivably his; though, save in respect of its utter futility and irrelevance, it is not to be described as quite unlike Marlowe. Collaborating in a Marlowe play, here as in EDWARD III, Greene might naturally acquire something more of Marlowe's manner: indeed we can imagine the play-planner suggesting as much to his associates. On this view, the newly hostile treatment of Joan is fully accounted for, especially when we infer that the theatre management had called for it. The recast was presumably made either by way of giving popularity to a play previously unsuccessful or of modifying one felt to be unlikely to please; and a blackening of Joan would be a development as natural for Greene and Peele as it was for Marlowe to devote himself specially to a new aggrandisement of Talbot in disregard of all chronology. In the first Act, the gibes of Reignier and Alençon, like those of Edward's brothers against Lady Gray in RICHARD DUKE OF YORK, are directed at a woman whom the dramatist treats with respect. In II, i, of our play the dramatist can be understood as himself putting the hostile view.

The absurd series of unhistorical French scenes from this point onward tells, indeed, of little concerted plot work. The egregious scene of the Countess of Auvergne and Talbot has the mixed style qualities of II, i, but with the same marked preponderance of Greene's iambic movement; and again there are verbal clues to Greene:—

*Captive* (participle). Found in Greene and Kyd, not in Marlowe, though, like Peele, he has the verb in the indicative.

*Misconstrue* (really written *misconster*, a form several times occurring in Greene, but not in Marlowe's accepted work, though, like Peele, he has *cônstrue* (*Edward II*, v, v, 16).

*Strike such terror*. This may be called a specialty of Greene's (*Alphonsus*, II, i; Prol. to III, i; IV, ii).

*Bruited*. Found in Greene (*F.B.* IV, iii) in a similar context:

I find thou art no less than fame hath bruited (*1 H. VI*).

The fame of Bacon, bruited through the world (*F.B.*).

*Cates.* Common in Greene, occurring five times in *F.B.*, ll. 1334, 1337, 1345, 1358, 1370.

*Give their censure.* Hart, who professes to see the hand of Shakespeare throughout the scene, admits that this phrase "is a favourite one with Greene."

*A second Hector.* Another Greeneism, by Hart's admission.

*Trained* = lured. A use of Greene's, by Hart's admission.

*Reverence.* One of Greene's tic-words.

But the decisive clues to Greene are in the cheaply facile style and the verse-movement. All along he is characterised, in the main, by a diffusely fluent diction, of a relative simplicity of structure and vocabulary, which may be termed prosaism or indolence and indigence of thought. To this indigence, which is correlative with his sheer volubility, he finds chronic relief in gnomic or proverbial lines, or queer names of things, or at times in classic reminiscence and rhetoric, or, as in *FRIAR BACON*, in the resort to academic jargon; but he remains one of the diffusest as well as one of the simplest of the playwrights of his time—a characteristic maintained in the *TWO GENTLEMEN*. In his contributions to *I HENRY VI* he is as diffusely voluble as anywhere:—

*Mess.* The virtuous lady, Countess of Auvergne,  
With modesty admiring thy renown,  
By me entreats, great lord, thou would'st vouchsafe  
To visit her poor castle where she lies,  
That she may boast she hath beheld the man  
Whose glory fills the world with loud report.

*Mess.* Madam  
According as your ladyship desired,  
By message craved, so is Lord Talbot come. . . .

The Countess's final flow of loquacity to Talbot, and his to her, are impossible for Marlowe in point of diffuseness, and are in the verse-movement of nobody but Greene. If scenes were paid for at a-penny-a-line, he would be the quickest to earn his reward, using the least mental effort.

When then we find Dr. Gray remarking<sup>1</sup> that the episode of the Countess of Auvergne has Greene's "characteristic 'smartness' in the turning of the tables,"

<sup>1</sup> Cited by Dr. Gaw, p. 121.

we are in ready agreement; and are prepared to meet the vacillations of Dr. Gaw, who sees reasons for and against. Even a few samples of Greene's verse-movement, where he could have found a hundred, move him to avow (p. 123) that they "argue strongly" that the writer here ("B") was Greene. On the other hand he notes that Greene in his death-bed tract makes no avowal of collaboration with Marlowe; and finally he is so impressed by the number of double-endings in this and other scenes ascribable to "B" that he feels the final verdict must be "not proven." In "B" sections he finds such percentages as 9.1, 12, and even 16, whereas in FRIAR BACON there are only 3.5, and in JAMES IV only 3.2; though he admits that in the corrupt text of GEORGE-A-GREENE he finds a percentage of 15.

As his other objections are negligible,<sup>1</sup> we may concentrate on this; and as his grouping of certain doubtful scenes under "B" conjoins together work demonstrably of different hands, the proper course, in the present inquiry, is to single out the scenes which seem necessarily ascribable to Greene. Taking that course, we find in II, i, only four double-endings in 79 lines, = 5 per cent. Again, though we find 9 per cent. in the Countess of Auvergne scene, in the previous scene-section of invitation there is only one for 27 lines, unless we suppose "Auvergne" to be trisyllabic.

Later, in III, ii, where there are strong clues to Greene, we have only two double-endings in 33 lines, seeing that "Rouen" must be scanned "Roan" at the end of lines as it is twice inside lines. Yet again, in v, iii $\alpha$ , which has several Greene clues, we have 44 lines with no double-endings; and in the Suffolk and Margaret section which follows, strongly marked by clues to Greene, there are only seven double-endings in 150 lines, = 4.6 per cent. In the perhaps more doubtful v, v, finally, there is only one double-ending.

That Greene should in 1591-2 rise to a percentage

<sup>1</sup> Greene naturally would not expressly avow collaboration with Marlowe in a tract in which he is warning Marlowe against continuance in atheism. The argument that the scene has no "for to" is simply worthless. Greene has many scenes without that tic.



of even 9 in double-endings, when Marlowe had led the way and Kyd had followed, would be not in the least surprising. In JAMES IV, I, *iii*a, there are 9 per cent. of double-endings—that is, if we so count “hither” and “together,” which may have been meant as a rhyme. Greene is in this late play, indeed, still clinging largely to rhyme. But Dr. Gaw’s method of setting the statistic of scenes or short sections against that of entire plays can be seen to be illicit; and as a counter-consideration to the undeniable evidences of Greene’s presence in 1 HENRY VI his figures—erroneous or in any case inapplicable to the Greene scenes—can have no weight.

Whether, as I have elsewhere argued, Greene in 1592 finally surrendered to the double-ending for his comedy purposes in the TWO GENTLEMEN, is a separate question. But there can clearly be no *à priori* argument against it on the score of an earlier paucity of double-endings in Greene’s work, when we see Marlowe and Kyd, under our eyes, multiplying the double-ending in a play in the first form of which, only two or three years before, they had shunned it. In the Countess scenes of EDWARD III, a late recast, which I have elsewhere claimed for Greene, the percentage of double-endings reaches 12. We can then freely apply to scenes which are *prima facie* Greenean the really licit tests of cadence, style, vocabulary, and phrase, and recognise as his, when we see it, that peculiar diluteness of brisk iambic speech which marks him from his first known play to his last, though in ALPHONSUS he was quite at his worst.<sup>1</sup>

In Act III, Scene ii, we have again one of the series of reckless inventions by which the play is sought to be galvanised, Joan and her friends capturing Rouen by stratagem, and losing it again immediately to the English,

<sup>1</sup> I cannot agree with Dr. Gaw (p. 121) that what Greene needed to acquire was “ease of versification.” The mere ease in *Alphonsus* is ridiculous, as if he were but seeking to show that he could string words in mostly correct metre as fast as his pen would go. Coleridge said of Schiller’s blank-verse that it moved like a fly in a glue-pot, and this might be said of much of Kyd’s. But Greene’s always moves like a fly on the water. What he lacked at his outset was literary conscience, reflection, pregnancy, dramatic feeling, and respect for his art—or, it may be, for the new fashion. To the end, his facility is often fatal, even when he is attaining characterisation.

as happened with Orléans in the previous figments. As in ii, iii, we have a brisk, wordy style, beginning with the Pucelle's announcement that the gates in front *are* the gates of Rouen, "through which our policy must make a breach," and she loquaciously explains through nine lines what she is doing. The whole dramatic plan is that she should take the city and lose it again. All the contributors alike, it is clear, were ready to hew the carcase of history "as wild Medea young Asbyrtus did," to the end of arousing some such spectatorial excitement as can be seen to have been attained on that stage by the kindred composite exercises of TITUS ANDRONICUS and ALPHONSUS EMPEROR OF GERMANY. In this case, however, the special stimulus is to be patriotism rather than atrocity: the hope being to create a soul "under the ribs of death" by extracting prideful sensations from the manipulation of a lost war.

The question is, whose hand? It cannot be Marlowe's, for sheer cheapness as well as for style, and it cannot be Shakespeare's: the verse is in the iambic trot of Greene, not in the strong stride of Marlowe or the shuffle of Peele; and it is quicker as well as more dilute than Kyd's. Verbal clues, indeed, do not here obtrude themselves: "practisants" is not claimed for anybody; "sack the city" and "comet of revenge" are equally assignable to any dramatist of the group. But at least the platitude "delays have dangerous ends" points particularly to the mint of Greene. Note the homologies:

1. Nay, then, I see 'tis *time* to look about ;  
*Delay is dangerous*, and procureth harm  
(*Alphonsus*, III, ii, ll. 974-5) ;
2. Let us make haste, and take *time* while we may,  
 For mickle *danger* happeneth through *delay*  
(*Id.* IV, i, ll. 1191-2) ;
3. *Defer not off* : to-morrow is too late  
(*Looking-Glass*, II, iii, *end*) ;
4. *Defer not time* . . . (*Id.* IV, iii, *end*).
5. But *danger hates delay* : I will be bold  
(*James IV*, v, v, l. 2181) ;
6. *Defer no time* : *delays have dangerous ends*  
(1 *Henry VI*, III, ii, 33).

The first use is marked by the maximum of verbiage; the second is of the same order; the third is a terse variant, preluding the last; the fourth, another variant; the fifth is a literary condensation; the sixth combines the first, second, third and fourth. If style, tic, and formula can give a clue, it is Greene we are reading in all six cases.

It should be noted, again, that between his Orléans scene in II, i, and the Rouen scene in III, iii, he concocts a justification of the line in the latter:

Done like a Frenchman; turn, and turn again!

In the former, the disappointed Charles cries to the baffled Pucelle:

Is this thy cunning, thou deceitful dame?

and she replies in six lines of Greenean volubility. In III, iii, Charles tells her:

We have been guided by thee hitherto,  
And of thy cunning *had no diffidence*.  
One sudden foil shall never breed distrust.

In the opening of the scene Greene is plainly perceptible:

*Puc.*   Dismay not, princes, at this accident,  
Nor grieve that Rouen [Roan] is so recovered:  
*Care is no cure, but rather corrosive*  
*For things that are not to be remedied;*

the last two lines being one of his commonest proverbs;<sup>1</sup> and we have another of his habitual phrases in "pull his plumes" (*F.B.* III, i); and yet another in "Search out thy wit for secret policies" (*GEORGE-A-GREENE*, Mermaid ed. p. 422). The movement of the verse is just as recognisably his; and though the moral pitch of the diction necessarily rises as Joan makes the prescribed and calculated appeal to Burgundy, the whole scene is duly directed to her moral belittlement in the final aside, so typical of Greene's tactics. This cannot have been a contrivance of Marlowe's. It would have been a fatuity

<sup>1</sup> "In things past cure, care is a corrosive" (*Pandosto*: Hazlitt's Shak. Library, Part I, Vol. IV, p. 44). Here the formula is identical.

on his part, no less than on Shakespeare's, to interject Joan's "Done like a Frenchman!"; and to Greene, who had led up to it, we may with confidence assign that line, with all that precedes. If it should be argued that some of the phrasal clues—such as "with his colours spread"—point to Marlowe, the answer is that Greene has just such phrases;<sup>1</sup> while others, such as "*tender* dying eyes" and "slaughter-men" and "mark but this for proof" point to him in particular.

It is in v, iii~~a~~, that, apparently joining forces with Peele to drag the Pucelle in the dirt, Greene again clearly reveals himself in representing her as despairingly practising sorcery. Just before, Marlowe had made her exclaim, in his generous vein:

Of all base passions, fear is most accursed.—  
Command the conquest, Charles, it shall be thine;  
Let Henry fret and all the world repine.

Now we sink to Greene's "charming spells and periapts," in the fashion and diction of FRIAR BACON and the sorcery business in the CONTENTION. The Greenean clues are obvious. Thus in the CONTENTION, with its two "for to's" in seven lines, we have "the damnèd pool, where Pluto . . . sits," referring us back to "I conjure thee by Pluto's loathsome lake" in ALPHONSUS (III, ii); and Margery Jourdain's scrap in invocation of "Asmath" in 2 HENRY VI, I, iv—a misspelt item that had been dropped in the old script of the CONTENTION—carries us back to the Asmenoth<sup>2</sup> of FRIAR BACON (IV, i). In the scene of Joan's sorcery in Part I, we have the "lordly monarch of the north," who rings the changes on "proud Asmenoth, ruler of the north." Greene, in fact, knew barely enough about sorcery to carry him along, though he has "charming spells," and "cursed charms," and "exorcising charms" and charms in general, in nearly every play, and repeatedly exploits trap-door magic.

<sup>1</sup> *James IV*, v, iii.

<sup>2</sup> It is not unlikely that the "Askalon" of the *Contention* is in turn a misreading of "Asmenoth."

We identify him finally, however, by the last five lines of Joan's lament :—

Now the time is come  
That France must *vail her lofty-plumed crest*,  
And let her *head fall into England's lap*.  
My ancient incantations are too weak,  
And hell too strong for me *to buckle with*.  
Now, France, *thy glory droopeth to the dust*.

No words can well express the imbecility of the lines as a presentment of the historic case to men who knew what happened after Joan's death; and Marlowe, one thinks, must have stared at the pretence that England was the conqueror. But it must suffice us here to note that the italicised phrases point to :—

*Vail thy plumes* and heave thee from thy pomp (*O.F.* v, i);

*Vail her top* (*F.B.* v, iii, *near end*);

That dares at weapon *buckle with* thy son (*Id.* iv, iii);

Thy seven years' study lieth *in the dust* (*Id.* iv, i);

My *glory gone*, my seven years' study lost (*Id.* iv, iii);

To *buckle with* the foe (*Alphonsus*, iv, iii);

And all our hope is cast *into the dust* (*Id.* i, i);

And in Astræa's *lap low lies his head*

(*A Maiden's Dream*, st. 12);

*Abase thy pranking plumes* (*J. IV.* v, vi).

When it is added that York's epithet "miscreant," applied to a woman (end of scene) is matched in FRIAR BACON (ii, iii), where Margaret applies it to herself; and that the capture of Joan by York is a historic figment very much on a par with Suffolk's capture of Margaret, the case seems reasonably complete.

Thus Greene plays his ignoble part in the blackening of Joan, leaving to Peele, apparently, the crowning denigration. For both it might perhaps be pleaded that they actually believed in witchcraft and devildom, and wrote accordingly. Marlowe, we know, did not, his FAUSTUS being a dramatic exercise, utterly eclipsing their work in power, as did his mind. And it now

perhaps begins to be possible for the plain Englishman to realise that Shakespeare, a profounder agnostic than Marlowe, was more completely alien to the current creeds than any poet in his age. What we are immediately concerned with, however, is the demonstration that he did not write a line of the incriminated scenes.

## § 4

Before considering Peele as probable author of the ill-famed Scene *iva* of Act v, we should note that the *idea* of the aspiring adventurer repudiating poor parents is given in A LOOKING-GLASS FOR LONDON (III, ii), where Greene's Radagon calls his father "old dotard" and denies both father and mother. It would seem as if this had suggested a scene of repudiation of her father by Joan. But though Greene has plenty of vernacular prose in his plays, the vernacular verse here does not suggest him, though some words, and the phrases "spare no cost" and "sprung from gentle blood" may do so. It is the theme that points to him.

On the other hand, the impulse to accept the ascription to Peele by Swinburne and others begins with the second line. "Kills thy father's heart outright" might be termed his finger-print; for no one more often uses "Kills" [*or* slays] my heart"; and the pleonastic "outright" is in his very spirit. In the MASSACRE AT PARIS (II, iii*b*) we have the line:

Oh, say not so, thou kill'st thy mother's heart,

in a scene-section so poor and limp in diction that probably no critic will, after scrutiny, assign it to Marlowe. The whole phraseology points to Peele, as do several other sections of the plainly recast MASSACRE.

Again, the "timeless" in line 5 of our scene in I HENRY VI is, as aforesaid, one of Peele's words, and the line:

Ah, Joan, sweet daughter Joan, I'll die with thee,

is an echo of several complaints in DAVID AND BETHSABE:

Ah, Absalon my son! Ah, my son Absalon! . . .

Die, David, for the death of Absalon. . . .

O, Absalon, Absalon! O my son, my son!

though the cue had been given by Kyd in the SPANISH TRAGEDY. Sadly does Mr. Hart avow that (though *decrepit* is a thrice-used Shakespeare word) *miser* in this sense occurs only here in the whole Concordance. Of course he will not recall

The miserable and most covetous usurer

from THE OLD WIVES TALE; nor, indeed, need we, remembering that Peele would get *miser* from Spenser. But Mr. Hart will have it that "first fruit of my bachelorship" points to "first fruits" in WINTER'S TALE (III, ii, 98), though "bachelorship" is nowhere else in Shakespeare.<sup>1</sup> As it happens, however, we have "first fruit of my sword" in EDWARD III, III, v, 71, in a scene independently and definitely assignable to Peele;<sup>2</sup> and "my bachelorship" is in the manner of "your master-ship" in the TALE, and "workmanship" (thrice) in the ARRAIGNMENT, and elsewhere. The rest of the vernacular matter is perfectly in keeping.

Broadly speaking, it is not reasonably to be supposed that Marlowe, who in his sympathetic handling of Joan at the outset makes her avow:

Dauphin, I am by birth a shepherd's daughter,

would be the man to frame the scene in which she publicly claims to be "descended of a gentler blood," and grossly insults the old shepherd, declaiming:

"Thou art no father nor no friend of mine."

That odious transformation comes of "the theatre" at its worst, the spirit so blatantly ministered to by Peele in his gross denigration of the Spanish Elinor in EDWARD I,<sup>3</sup> and by Greene in his presentation of

<sup>1</sup> Greene has "your majestyship" in the prose of his scene.

<sup>2</sup> See *Introduction to the Study of the Canon*, p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> The one plea that seems possible for Peele is that his EDWARD I, like the other chronicle plays, was probably founded on a previous "actors' play," which is not unlikely to have contained most of the bad business about Elinor. But this is a poor palliation.

JAMES IV of Scotland as a scoundrelly traitor and would-be murderer.<sup>1</sup> To such things the theatre lent itself, because it subsisted by entertaining the multitude, for a large part of which the vilification of the enemy alien is a matter of course. But Marlowe, defiantly ready to take the unpopular course of denouncing the faithlessness of Christians as such in their dealings with Pagans or Moslems, is no more plausibly to be suspected of willingly catering for the common baseness here than of writing the utterly pedestrian vernacular verse which opens this scene. He made *his* popular appeal in braver fashion.

It is, nevertheless, quite likely that, as is well suggested by Dr. Allison Gaw,<sup>2</sup> the last line of the disgusted father's speech may have been originally followed by York's line, now numbered 54,

Ay, ay ; away with her to execution

and that our twenty intervening lines (34-53) were an addition. The "Ay, ay" line, indeed, connects much better with line 33 than with line 53. On that view, the denigration of Joan *may* have already been embodied in the first draft—a procedure which may be supposed to have repelled Marlowe, who from this point has no share in the play. But even if this was the course of things, he must be supposed to have originally desired a different treatment, which the purchasing players, knowing their audience, would not accept.

That he did not refuse to have anything more to do with the play, however, is to be inferred from his having in 1592 added the Talbot scenes as aforesaid, and perhaps still later added the Roses scene ; and it might perhaps be contended that the play, although written some time before, had never yet had a stage life. The more probable development, however, would have been a comparatively unsuccessful stage life, which

<sup>1</sup> It is fair to remember, however, that in *Edward III* the English King is momentarily *willing* to kill his wife. That is very like Greene. But in *James IV* the Scottish King *authorises* the killing of his blameless English wife to further his intrigue with Ida.

<sup>2</sup> Work cited, p. 138.



Marlowe and his former collaborators were invited to invigorate by new matter. There is, in fact, much reason to suspect that, as in the case of HENRY V, there were "actors' plays" on the HENRY VI series before the academics were called in to put them into blank-verse.

On this view Peele may have actually added the scene under notice in 1592, and it becomes more certain than ever that the play was not then new. In any case, it is not Shakespeare who writes the twenty lines. For Dr. Gaw's pronouncement that those lines are inserted by Shakespeare is one of the many untenable positions into which he has been led by the theory that Shakespeare was the first innovator in the matter of double-endings: On the bare fact that the added twenty lines include four double-endings he founds the formidable formula of a percentage of 22 (which surely ought to be 20) in contrast with a total percentage of 5 for the whole scene. Why then, faced by *six* double-endings in 16 lines of the third messenger's speech in Scene i, did he not assign these to Shakespeare? He gives them to a collaborator of Marlowe. Again, in i, iii, in the short scene-section of the quarrel of Gloucester and Woodville, we have six double-endings in 14 lines, that is, *42 per cent.* But these are assigned to Marlowe. Such vital inconsistency upsets the principle once for all. At this rate, Marlowe could obviously have done the double-endings in the Roses scene.

But, for that matter, a 20 per cent. rate of double-endings in a speech of twenty lines was no new thing in 1592;<sup>1</sup> and, on the other hand, the twenty lines may have been added in 1593, and still not be Shakespeare's.

And that they are not Shakespeare's can be demonstrated by the very tests on which we have already relied in tracing Peele in the lines preceding. For those who realise that Shakespeare's specialty was not priority in double-endings but primacy in run-on *rhythm* with varied pauses within the line, this speech-section is as clearly Peelean or Marlovian as it is non-Shake-

<sup>1</sup> In *Arden* we have four double-endings in 12 lines, and six in 20 (III, vi, 52-71).

spearean. There is only one really run-on line—actually at a lower rate than that of the first thirty; and though the style is perforce more “elevated”—that is, more literary—than that of the father’s speech, the syntax does not rise with the key. In the lines:

First let me tell you whom you have condemn’d:  
Not *me* begotten of a shepherd swain,  
*But issued* from the progeny of Kings,

we may indeed partly improve the syntax by reading—as surely we should—*one* for *me*; but it would still remain as un-Shakespearean as the style. The “No, misconceived!” is pre-Shakespearean, as are the tautologies and insipidities of “*guiltless* blood of *innocents*,” “from her *tender infancy*,” and “thus *rigorously effused*.” Such pleonasm reduce the Marlowe line to the level of the Peelean. Further, the style clues seem about as strong here as in the speech of the father.

Lines 34-35, no doubt, revert to a note struck elsewhere in the trilogy, and thereby strengthen the surmise of secondary addition; but even this is not out of keeping with the entire authorship of the scene by the first penman. Those lines:—

Take her away, for she has lived too long,  
To fill the world with vicious qualities,

certainly point back to

Why should she live to fill the world with words?

in the TRUE TRAGEDIE OF RICHARD DUKE OF YORK; as “the lodestar of my life” in *O.W.T.* points to THE JEW, though “lodestar” was a common word. But they also point to “Joan hath lived too long” in EDWARD I (Dyce, p. 414*a*); and to Elinor’s “I have lived too long” in the CONTENTION (II, iii), in a scene which savours strongly of Kyd and Peele, and *not* of Marlowe. Similarly, “issued from the progeny of Kings” points to “royalise thy progeny” in *O.W.T.* and to half a dozen other uses of the latter word in the ARRAIGNMENT,<sup>1</sup> the BATTLE, and DAVID; and “chosen

<sup>1</sup> If “progeny” here be read as =ancestry (a common use of the word) we have that force in the *Arraignement*, Act II, *end.* Compare the use in *H. VI.*

from above" points to "sent from above" and "not from above" and "especial favour from above" in EDWARD I and DAVID (Dyce, pp. 383*a*, 411*a*, 485*a*), and again "from above" in DESCENSUS ASTRÆÆ (Dyce, p. 542*a*); even as "By inspiration of celestial grace" echoes many effusive Peelean phrases such as:

To mount the heavens with wings of grace . . .

(*Ed. I*: Dyce, p. 411*b*),

To scale the heavenly grace (*Id. p.* 412*a*),

Cheers his senses with celestial air . . .

(*David*: Dyce, p. 484*a*).

But here again we have to remember that we have already had "my profession's sacred *from above*" in an early scene (I, ii, 114), clearly written by Marlowe. The phrase, then, is either one more echo by Peele or a current religious tag, found, as it happens, at least eight times in Greene's plays, and in the LOOKING-GLASS FOR LONDON (v, i, *near end*) in two successive lines.

Modally, indeed, the interjection, "No, misconceivèd!" is analogous to "Resolved, ye see!" (*Ed. I*, Sc. iv: Dyce, p. 388*a*). Peele, as it happens, has the word "misconceiving" in JACK STRAW (cited by Hart), and *misconceived* occurs only here in the Concordance.<sup>1</sup> More decisive, ostensibly, is the fact that Joan's line:

Will cry for vengeance at the gates of heaven

is almost a duplicate of Peele's

Will cry for vengeance to the host of heaven

(*David*, III, ii: Dyce, p. 476*b*);

while the previous line, beginning "Whose," is of a type that occurs more than twenty times in DAVID. For the rest, the vocabulary is as perfectly Peelean throughout as the pleonastic end-stopped verse; and though "sun reflex his beams" (l. 87), is directly traceable to I TAMBURLAINE (III, i), the rest of the rant in which it occurs is quite in the fashion of the cursing or

<sup>1</sup> It is found in the *Spanish Tragedy*, III, i, 89.

execrating speeches in DAVID and THE BATTLE. The line :

Drive you to break your necks or hang yourselves

might rank as his highest fling in that order of composition, but that this clearly echoes THE JEW (II, ii).

Were it not for the other clues, then, we might freely prefer the alternative inference that Marlowe, disliking Peele's scene, hastily inserted the speech of twenty lines, not negating but inflating the claim of high descent, as a slight protest against the perversion of his original plan—the level of vigour in the speech being indeed above Peele's normal, despite the pleonasm. On that view the line

Will cry for vengeance at the gates of heaven,

written here by Marlowe, was echoed by Peele later in DAVID, as he has there echoed so many other things; and "royalise thy progeny," in *O.W.T.*, might be an ironical reference to this. On this view, too, the double-endings would be very readily accounted for, when we have realised Marlowe's priority in that path. On the other hand, the interjectional "No, misconceived!" seems at least to balance the other inference, and either to leave Peele as reviser of his own scene or to join him with Marlowe in the revision. As we shall find, in dealing with Parts II and III, reasons for holding that both acted as revisers there (Marlowe largely and Peele slightly), the same thing may have happened here, though the noxious Joan scene may have been Peele's sole contribution to the play, and datable 1592. In that case Marlowe is to be regarded as confronted only on the recast with that denigration of Joan which is such a deflection of his clear original purpose. And, concluding the more strongly that the added speech, by whichever written, cannot be the work of Shakespeare, we reasonably give the ill-famed Peele the discredit of the scene as a whole, when we have "reconstructed the crime."

There is just one reservation to be made. My friend Mr. Marley Denwood ascribes the twenty lines to Kyd,

while I am quite unable to see Kyd's movement in them. It is arguable, however, that Kyd wrote the main scene, since he has the words "collop" (*S. and P.* II, 23); "suborn'd" (*Id.* IV, iii, 14), "ratsbane" (*ARDEN*, V, i, 296), and "homicides" (frequently). These are certainly noticeable verbal clues, apart from manner—which here seems to me to point to Peele; and if Kyd be thought mean enough for the job, he was certainly available. It is because he has nothing similarly odious in his known work that I would finally exclude him. And for that reason, of course, there can be no question here of an addition by Heywood, though he seems to enter as a late contributor in *RICHARD III*, and perhaps in 2 and 3 *HENRY VI*. Heywood has always ranked as a gentleman; and even what for Marlowe might be a protest would have been for him a fatuity.

As against this internal stylistic evidence we have now to set in full the claim of Dr. Allison Gaw<sup>1</sup> that we must ascribe Joan's twenty-line speech to Shakespeare on the grounds (1) that it exhibits the special resort to the double-ending which he holds Shakespeare to have initiated, and (2) that

"The one touch of elevation given to Joan (ll. 35-53) *contradicts* the other part of the scene in making Joan claim, not merely that she is of noble birth, but that she is 'issued from the Progeny of Kings,' and in putting into her mouth a defence in exalted language of her chastity and heaven-sent power, and a scathing rebuke of her persecutors as

polluted with your lusts,  
Stained with the guiltless blood of Innocents,  
Corrupt and tainted with a thousand Vices,—

the whole in such elevated mood and with such dramatic power (both far above D's [*i.e.* Peele's] level elsewhere) as curiously to defeat the obvious dramatic intention of the scene by re-winning our admiration for the character whom D intended to make repulsive. An examination of the metrics of the passage unmistakably confirms the suspicion roused by its superiority and by its incongruity with its surroundings. The 22.2 per cent. of feminine endings in these lines, as compared with the 5.5 per cent. in the remainder of the scene, marks this as an interpolation by Shakespeare. York's following line,

I, I, away with her to execution,

<sup>1</sup> Work cited, pp. 137-8.

is either a part of the interpolation, raising the feminine endings to 26.3 per cent., or has had the 'I, I,' ('Ay, ay') interpolated, and stood originally

Away with her to ex-e-cu-ti-on,

as D certainly [!] would have scanned the last word. Either way, take out the passage and the following lines connect smoothly with the preceding line 35. It is thus a satisfaction to note that, *while Shakespeare made no attempt to rewrite the end of the Joan story as a whole, yet the only great moment given her in the entire infamous v, iiii-iv, was an insertion from his hand*" (italics Dr. Gaw's).

I have assented above to the sound suggestion that Joan's speech of 20 lines seems to be an addition—possibly not by "D". It remains to be sorrowfully insisted, however (1) that the theorem of Shakespeare's priority in double-endings is fatally false; (2) that the percentage figures given are a sad inflation of the simple fact of there being four double-endings in 15 lines—a thing, be it repeated, frequently seen before 1592; (3) that even "D" (*i.e.* Peele) often used *ion* endings to make a non-pyrrhic double-ending in the later taste, and would *not* have scanned *ex-e-cu-ti-on* as is here confidently alleged; (4) that the entire speech before us achieves, and was intended to achieve, nothing in the way of "contradicting" what went before or "elevating" Joan, beyond giving her her dramatic turn as Marlowe's school normally did with their discredited characters; and (5) that the "poetry" has no such merit as Dr. Gaw ascribes to it.

1. Once more, Shakespeare's early indifference to multiplication of double-endings is shown by his practice in 1 HENRY IV, JOHN, and the DREAM, as also in the first scene of the ERRORS—deplorably denied to him by Dr. Gaw.

2. I will here go into new detail as to other men's double-endings:—

(a) In EDWARD II, iv, 2, we have four double-endings in 12 lines, and seven in 17. This is indeed an added scene, but

(b) even in 1 TAMBURLAINE, I, iii, 29-46, we find four double-endings in 18 lines; and in 2 TAMBURLAINE there are frequent *pairs* of them.

(c) In the first speech in the CONTENTION we have a bunch of three double-endings; and in the Queen's first speech, of 6 lines, we have another bunch of three (= 50 per cent.)!

Yet again (d) in the TRUE TRAGEDY (OF RICHARD OF YORK), in the scene answering to I, iii, of 3 HENRY VI, we have four double-endings in the 12 lines from "Then thus my lord" to "And bid the Duke"; again, in I, v, four in 11 lines from "So cowards fight" to "Hold, valiant Clifford"; and four in 8 lines from "But that thy face" to "Yet not so wealthy"; and, again, six in the 13 lines in IV, iii, from "Then gentle Clarence" to "Our scouts." There are many more instances.

3. In Peele's SPEECHES TO QUEEN ELIZABETH AT THEOBALD'S (1591) we have the line (26):—

A place unfit for one of my *profession*

though in the BATTLE OF ALCAZAR (III, i) he has:

But disagree with thy profess-i-on.

In the same play, in Act II, Scene ii (which has seven double-endings in 80 lines of blank-verse) we are entitled to read:

This was the cause of our (ouër) *expedition*  
and

As my ability here can make *provision*;

even as we *must* read, in III, ii,

He thankfully receives with all *conditions*,

and again, in EDWARD I, Scene xiii,

We will remunerate his *resolution*.

Marlowe in turn, though much given to the pyrrhic ending in *iôn*, can write:

Why, man, they say there is great *execution*.

(Edward II, IV, iii, 6.)

sources of their pleasure." To which we have to add that Lettsom, the writer of these words, found the versification of Shakespeare in the HENRY VI plays and their originals. The prospect is thus of "low visibility." For all we know, then, the American professors twenty or even a hundred years hence may be teaching, in calm defiance of the statistics, that Shakespeare was the pioneer of the double-ending, and therefore that he wrote the Roses scene, as was once loudly asserted in the motherland by Swinburne and Furnivall, and by Fleay until the truth partly flashed upon him. Even then, we can see, he dared not speak out.

Æsthetic truth or fitness is one of the most precarious of perceptions. When the pre-Shakespeareans discovered (1590?) the relief from monotony given by free use of the double-ending, they created, one fancies, for themselves and their hearers, the effect of a kind of "jazz"; and in contrast with the awful monotony of the blank-verse of Lodge, in particular, the new and easy "way out" would be attractive. Shakespeare, it should be clear, was the last to conform, precisely because he had at once transcended monotony for himself, super-metrically, by his run-on *rhythm*, his continuous variation of the stresses, and his frequent break within the line; as later, letting the fashion fly, he was the one to avoid the new and worse monotony of the blindly multiplied double-ending, stamped on the verse of Chapman, Fletcher, Massinger, and the later men. But it is far from certain that the end-stopped line with the overdone double-ending, a doubled monotony which hopelessly infected the eighteenth century and at first dominated the nineteenth,<sup>1</sup> is widely noxious to the average modern ear, any more than jazz.

Many seem to like the doubled monotony in Massinger, in Fletcher, in Otway, in Dryden, in Byron. Prizes, then, may be won by posterity in virtue of style-blindness and rhythm-deafness; bursaries may be bestowed on the more industrious exponents of æsthetic error, especially

<sup>1</sup> Witness the confession, and the practice, of Coleridge. *Table Talk*, Feb. 17, 1833.



if they bear out Tennyson in assigning the Countess scenes of EDWARD III to Shakespeare, and so buttress afresh the dogma of the double-ending, clothing the Master in the trappings of Greene as in those of Marlowe. And, it may be, the States shall join hands with the Motherland, and the lion shall lie down with its lamb, or the eagle nest with its dam; and the British Academy, dreading Disintegration, shall lead them!

Yet, even if the present should be the last battle for the right, it must not be shunned by those of us who care seriously about the historical and the æsthetic truth. Knowing that no scientific truth could ever count on academic acceptance at its first promulgation, we must "fight it out on this line."

Two critical principles must be steadfastly affirmed. There has been some recent debate as to whether Shakespeare can be understood without reading the contemporary Tudor and Jacobean drama, the opposition claiming that the assertion is made only by pedants, and that "many people have seized and enjoyed all that is greatest in Shakespeare without having read a line of his contemporaries."<sup>1</sup> This seems to be an evasion of the real issue by juggling with the terms. The statement challenged came originally from Coleridge, who was hardly a pedant. Our thesis is that until criticism has sifted the canon, *no reader knows throughout when he is reading Shakespeare*. And there is overwhelming evidence that thousands of readers, misguided from the start, read as "great" that which is not great in the Folio. Meredith so read HENRY VIII; and multitudes read what is at best great Marlowe as part of the greatest in Shakespeare, which it assuredly is not.

On the other hand, where so much laborious academic work has gone astray, let the free pioneer be all the more on his guard against his own fallibility. It is the common heritage. Only by the most scrupulous method can he hope to escape errors of inference; and it is to the establishment of scientific method that all his analysis should lead. Every new hypothesis is by its nature an

<sup>1</sup> *Times Literary Supplement*, Aug. 22, 1929, p. 648, col. 2.

advance on the evidence even when it is suggested by evidence ; and it always runs risk of miscarriage, becoming valid only when fully tested. We have seen error laxly committed by men who had achieved true detections, and some sound detections reached by men committed to false theories. That has been the way of even scientific progress, and it is sadly likely to remain so in our demi-semi-scientific explorations.

## CHAPTER III

### THE MORTIMER DEATH-SCENE, AND OTHERS

Were it not for the debate that has been waged over the authorship of *every* scene in 1 HENRY VI, it might be said that the Mortimer death-scene is the hardest nut of all to crack. It is really more difficult to assign by *prima facie* tests than the Pucelle scenes, or the Talbot death-scenes, or the Roses scene. Fleay, we saw, ascribed it at different times (*a*) to Shakespeare, once with a "perhaps," and (*b*) to Marlowe, as "manifestly" his; Hart gave it back to Shakespeare; Dr. Tucker Brooke and Professor Quincy Adams bestow it, with the draft and the bulk of the play, on Peele; and Dr. Gaw soberly assigns it back to Marlowe.

If, then, what we term the obviously Marlovian quality of the Roses scene be imperceptible to the majority of researchers, it would be idle to say that there is anything *prima facie* obvious here. The present writer confesses to having doubted long before coming to the conclusion that the scene is by Kyd; there being a certain "fuscous" or amorphous quality of feeling and diction in Peele and Kyd, the outcome of their common lack of genius and personality, that makes them at times hard to know apart as one knows Greene and Marlowe. But the hesitation was at length removed by critical analysis, now to be indicated.

1. Broadly, the scene stands out as having (1) small plot-value, being at best an exposition of the right of York to be "restored to his blood," yet (2) attaining in a small way to the pathos-value sought later in the Talbot death-scenes; and (3) as written in relatively early verse, stiff, conventional, end-stopped, and with only four double-endings to 129 lines. That it is historically false is, in this play, a matter of course. When "history"

is injected in the SPANISH TRAGEDY, we have the same thing.

For Dr. Gaw (p. 102), the style is somewhat superior Marlowese, containing lines as to which "at first sight" it "seems impossible that they should not be Shakespeare's." (These lines, be it sadly avowed, are those about the "pursuivants of death" and the "umpire of men's miseries"). In point of general inflation, orotundity, line-ended monotony, inversions, phraseology, and vocabulary, indeed, the diction may be said to belong broadly to the Marlowe "school." There are even special Marlowe clues, such as "lavish tongue."<sup>1</sup> But it will perhaps be admitted by open-minded inquirers that the scene entirely lacks the bounding quality, the *élan* which Dr. Gaw confesses to be special to Marlowe; and that the pathos has none of that turgid vehemence which we find in the Talbot death-scenes, and which is really Marlovian, though some can confidently assign it to Peele, whose pathos is everywhere else so perfunctory. It is indeed the pervading stiffness and the often inflated verbalism of the Mortimer scene that make it permissible to look in it for Peele, though Peele is rather flabby than stiff. Marlowe dilates or expletes through sheer exuberance of force: Peele and Kyd inflate in the effort to simulate it. To Greene, probably, nobody would now ascribe the scene, which has neither his movement nor his effervescence.

2. Yet this mediocre scene is written with a plodding, prolix persistence of "stylish" diction, a business-like detail of narrative, and a strictness of metre, which will not be found conjointly matched either in the body of Peele's signed work or in the plays reasonably assigned to him by Fleay, or even in the long scenes ascribable to him in *Titus*, where he is, for him, so painstaking. The difference is that Peele's facile verbiage is in general so lacking in content, so merely expansive, so vacuously rhetorical, while this is conscientiously directed, in all its

<sup>1</sup> It is to be suspected that this is what moved Fleay to pronounce it "manifestly" Marlowe's. But Marlowe's tags were always being echoed, and Kyd had already adopted this in *Arden*.

proximity, to precise narrative exposition, with flowers of speech liberally interspersed, according to use and wont. Beneath Marlowe, it is in this way above Peele.

3. Such analysis, however, is clearly too generalised to convey any conviction. The scene might even be said to be more business-like, with all its tropes, than the *average* of Kyd; and a perception of this, and of the rather marked avoidance of double-endings, led me to scrutinise closely, in this connection, the blank-verse work of Lodge and Nashe in turn. Both are as rigidly end-stopped and as chary of double-endings. But, finally, neither will fit the case nearly so well as Kyd does. Lodge is probably the most stiffly monotonous of all the blank-verse men of the age, but he is also the most empty declamatory. He mints rhetoric for rhetoric's sake or for homily's sake, with a minimum of dramatic significance; and this scene is beyond even his later scope. Neither in the WOUNDS OF CIVIL WAR nor in his (probable) portions of the LOOKING-GLASS FOR LONDON or the 'LARUM FOR LONDON does he achieve anything even of this degree of significance. Dramatically he is indigent in the extreme.

4. Nashe, a much more alert and elastic intelligence than Lodge, is in his turn nearly as inelastic in his blank-verse, a form in which, so far as we know, he remained rigidly traditionist to the end. Nobody has fewer double-endings or run-on lines. His absolute freedom in the large field of prose seems to have reconciled him to bondage in blank-verse; and if he is to be traced in *Dino* it will probably be in respect of this constriction. But while he thus approximates to the manner of the Mortimer scene, and further in his proclivity to the sententious, his work in no way compares with it in respect of the stiff inversions, and he never suggests the egregious tropes.

5. Inversion, indeed, is common to all the blank-versers of the time; but in this scene it appears to be

enhanced by a desire to avoid the double-ending. For instance:—

As witting I *no other comfort have* . . .

Marrying my sister *that thy mother was* . . .

True; and thou seest that I *no issue have* . . .

This stress of mannerism outgoes that of Marlowe, with his "Assigned am I" and "If I, my lord, for my opinion bleed." Is it then characteristic of Kyd? The answer would seem to be that it *is* characteristic of Kyd in his first stage. In the SPANISH TRAGEDY he practises ordinary "poetic" inversion freely on every page after the Induction. Thus "there met our armies" stands for "there our armies met"; and we seem all along to have constructions dictated by avoidance of a final trochee, as.

Was that the warlike prince of Portugal  
That *by our nephew* was in triumph led?

But for specially violent inversions we may take as samples:—

They did what heav'n *unpunished would not leave* . . .

Me hath my hapless<sup>1</sup> brother hid from thee . . .

Nor stepp'd I back till I recovered him . . .

Or for thy meed hast falsely me accused . . .

Till when ourself will hold exempt the place . . .

leaving it an open question whether the motive is to evade the double-ending that might have been made by 'unpunish'd' or 'falsely' or 'brother' or 'exempt.' It is sufficient to realise that Kyd was quite capable of "I derivèd am" and "no issue have."

6. And if Nashe be dismissed in favour of such an inversionist, no less must he be in respect of his remoteness from those quaint euphuisms of trope which mark

<sup>1</sup> Query: *heartless*? The editors have attempted no emendation; but *hapless* here seems to make nonsense. "Heartless" had then a different force from the present one; but even the former would be fitter.

the Mortimer death-scene, as they so notoriously marked the TRAGEDY. Among them are :—

Those grey locks, the pursuivants of death<sup>1</sup> . . .

The arbitrator of despairs,  
Just Death, kind umpire of men's miseries . . .

Thou seest that I no issue have,  
*And that my fainting words do warrant death* . . .

These feet, whose strengthless stay is numb . . .

Such ingenuities of ineptitude exclude Marlowe; and I can find no parallels for them in Nashe. But they are very much in the way of the SPANISH TRAGEDY: *e.g.*

The night, *sad secretary of my moans* . . .  
(III, ii, 12);

So striveth not the waves with sundry winds  
As fortune toileth in the affairs of Kings  
That would be fear'd, yet fear<sup>2</sup> to be belov'd . . .  
(III, i, 8-10);

And with thy words thou slay'st our wounded thoughts  
(III, i, 26);

Ay, ay, this earth, image of melancholy,  
Seeks him whom fates adjudge to misery . . .  
(I, iii, 12-13);

But neither friendly sorrows, sighs, nor tears  
Could win pale Death from his usurped right . . .  
(I, iv, 38-39);

Of that thine ivory front, my sorrow's map . . .  
(III, x, 91).

Verbal fatuity in the lugubrious would seem to be one of Kyd's specialties, as against the mere bleating or platitude of Peele; and if anyone is to be suspected of the tropes in the Mortimer scene it would appear to be he. "Secretary of my moans" would seem to be the very coinage of the phraser of "umpire of men's miseries" and "arbitrator of despairs."

<sup>1</sup> The frequent acceptance of this line as "Shakespearean" is significant of the fashion in which the old drama is often read. *Grey* locks might be pursuivants taking twenty years to give their summons. Shakespeare has "the *silver livery* [a current figure] of advised age."

<sup>2</sup> Query: *yearn*, or *seek*, or *care*, or *hope*? "Fear to be belov'd" seems to be a printer's error, even in a Kyd text. Possibly the true text is: "Yet, fear'd, to be beloved," which is still clumsy.

7. There are, further, actual homologies of individual phrase and figure in the Mortimer scene and Kyd's known works.

Keepers, convey him hence, and I myself  
Will see his burial better than his life

points to

Myself will see the body borne from hence  
And honoured with balm and funeral  
(*Soliman and Perseda*, II, i, end);

and there are similar identifications between the lines in our scene :—

Kind keepers of my weak *decaying age* . . .  
. . . Whose strengthless *stay* is numb . . .  
Lean thine *aged back against my arm* . . .  
That I may *kindly* give one fainting kiss . . .  
Direct mine arms I may embrace his neck . . .  
These eyes like lamps . . .

and the following in Kyd's plays :—

Quick lamp-like eyes (*S. and P.* iv, i, 80);  
And thinking to embrace him oped mine arms  
(*Cor.* III, i, 122);  
Yet, kiss me, gentle love, before thou die  
(*S. and P.* iv, 66);  
Ah, let me kiss thee too before I die  
(*Id.* I. 72);  
Come on, *old man* . . . *Lean on my arm*  
(*S.T.* III, xiii, 169-70);  
Ah, Ferdinand, the *stay* of my *old age*  
(*S. and P.* II, i, 302).

8. If now we seek for other clues to Kyd, we find them in sufficient number, even if they include some that have wider application. "Argue," in line 7, points to "That argues" in *S.T.* I, iv, 80; "flowering youth" points to *S.T.*, Induction; the Marlovian "lavish tongue" we find him adopting (1591?) in *ARDEN* (IV, iv, end, "lavish in their speech"); and "exigent" he was equally likely to adopt, as did Peele. It would perhaps be overstraining a point to look for a lead to

that slaughterer  
Which giveth many wounds when one will kill,



but (to say nothing of the curious clues between Kyd and MACBETH) it happens (1) that in CORNELIA there are descriptions of supererogatory savagery in wounding, as "gor'd with a thousand stabs" (III, iii, 71); (2) that in ARDEN the victim is stabbed by three persons in turn; and (3) that in the TRAGEDY the hanged Horatio is stabbed by four, and found "through-girt with wounds, and slaughter'd as you see." Yet again,

In that ease I'll tell thee my disease,  
and

Ay, noble uncle, thus ignobly used,  
may fairly be held to belong to the inventor of

. Rest we here awhile in our unrest (*Id.* I, iii, 5);  
Dissembling quiet in unquietness (III, xiii, 30);  
For in unquiet quietness is feigned<sup>1</sup> (III, xvi, 22);  
Then will I joy amidst my discontent (II, v, 108);  
Rest thee, for I will sit to see the rest (III, xvi, 37).

It would seem to be his finger-print; and the line in LOCRINE (V, iv):—

Their uncontented corps were yet content

is a later echo of the TRAGEDY, which may or may not come from Kyd's own hand.

9. We might add further and less weighty clues of vocabulary and phraseology, such as "sequestration" (pointing to *S.T.* III, ix, 2); "the diadem" (*Id.* I, iii, 83; v, 38—of course a very common figure); "cursèd instrument" (*S.T.* and ARDEN); "pursuivants," indicating a probable Kyd scene in the CONTENTION (I, iii); "enlargement" (*S.T.* III, x, 12); "swift-wingèd" (*S. and P.* II, ii, 33); but it is of more importance to note the special clue of scansion in lines 82-83:—

Long after this, when Hen(e)ry the Fifth,  
Succeeding his father Bolingbroke, did reign.

Here we have (1) a necessary intercalation of a syllable,

<sup>1</sup> These samples in Kyd of what Dr. Gaw calls "the balanced line" should serve to cancel *that* conception of a style-test. Such lines were as common as blackberries.

and (2) a rhythm which accommodates an extra syllable. The latter is paralleled in

Thus have I shamelessly hazarded his life  
(S.T. III, i, 96);

the former in a score of lines in the TRAGEDY and elsewhere. The phenomenon is of course familiar in Marlowe, and to a less extent in Peele; but we have to note that before TAMBURLAINE Kyd was employing such scansions as *se-cer-et*, *treas-iure*, *jeal-i-ous*, *appe-ar-ance*, *enter-ance*, *sap(e)ling*, *assemb(e)ly*, *hunter-ess*; and that he gives "Hieronimo" usually four syllables, but once five.

Now, it is not to be supposed that Marlowe, who seems to use "Gloster" and "Glou-ces-ter" as may be convenient (Glou-ces-ter in places where the Folio prints Gloster both in Marlovian and in non-Marlovian lines), would not use "Hen-e-ry" where it might fit; and in Parts II and III he perhaps actually does use "Humph-e-ry" and "Hen-e-ry" as suits his momentary convenience. But the fact remains that the Mortimer scene gives us the first "Hen-e-ry" in this play, and that the next instance is in III, i<sup>b</sup>, in the section begun by the entrance of the Mayor:

O my good lords and virtuous Hen(e)ry.

This again Dr. Gaw assigns to Marlowe, though it is not at all Marlowesque in its movement. Yet, while there are apparent clues to Peele,<sup>1</sup> which, though inconclusive, cannot be ignored, it is an obvious probability that the second "Hen(e)ry" comes from the pen

<sup>1</sup> The line

Have filled their pockets full of pebble-stones,

points to DAVID AND BETHSABE (III, iii); and the phrase "we'll fall to it with our teeth" recalls EDWARD I, I. The word "reguerdon" also suggests Peele (though Kyd has "guerdon"). But DAVID, we have to remember, is full of echoes; and EDWARD I is in like case. On the other hand Hieronimo has

Shiv'ring their limbs in pieces with my teeth

(S.T. III, xiii, 122);

and we actually have

With their teeth

The walls they'll tear down

already in the second scene of our play.

which gave the first; that Kyd at least began this section; and that down to the closing soliloquy of Exeter, which is Marlowe's, we have Kyd and/or Peele, perhaps overlaying or revised by Marlowe.

10. One of the Kyd clues is "all the whole" in line 164, which points back to "all the whole" in the third messenger's speech in I, i, previously seen to be assignable to Kyd. And here we have to note an important fact which raises anew the question of chronology. We have seen that the third messenger's speech of 33 lines has six double-endings (six in 16 lines, followed by 16 lines without any); and that this speech, like the second of the first messenger, is an insertion in the text. Then the inference is that whereas Kyd and Greene shared in the recast of 1592, the Mortimer scene, and the middle section of III, i—which again has only three double-endings to 108 lines (up to Exeter's soliloquy)—belong to the earlier form of the play.<sup>1</sup>

Once again, then, we are led to infer that that earlier form was written in collaboration at a time when neither Marlowe nor Kyd had accepted the double-ending as a thing to be freely used. And seeing that ARDEN OF FEVERSHAM (entered on the Stationers' Register on 3rd April 1592, and presumably on the stocks in or before 1591) has some scenes with high percentages of double-endings (9 in the first 57 lines; 6 per cent. in Act I; 9+ in III, iv; 8 per cent. in III, v; over 18 per cent. in III, vii), and some sections with few or none (100 lines in Act I with none), we may put 1590 or 1591 as the year in which the innovation perceptibly began. Accordingly, the first form of I HENRY VI should probably be dated not later than 1589, as has been the prevailing view.

At that date Kyd, adhering to his conventions, could well write with more metrical correctness than is exhibited

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to guess why Fleay in 1877 bracketed the Mortimer scene with the Roses scene as "probably" added by Shakespeare much later. The double-endings in the latter scene might well suggest *prima facie* a late date; but the Mortimer scene stands out by the fewness of its double-endings, as does III, ib.

in the corrupt text of the SPANISH TRAGEDY; would still in general eschew double-endings; and would be still lavish of egregious tropes, the dominant realism of ARDEN being still in the future—a reaction from previous extravagance, as natural for Kyd as was the reaction from TAMBURLAINE and FAUSTUS to English history for Marlowe. On the other hand, the partly better yet viciously rhetorical lines:

But now thy uncle is removing hence,  
As *princes do their courts* (!) when they are cloyed  
With long continuance in a settled place,

may serve to remind us that even in the SPANISH TRAGEDY there are tolerable tropes, such as:

Who, as a wintry storm upon a plain,  
Will bear me down with their nobility.

Thus the whole scene is within Kyd's scope before 1590; and it is almost as little Marlovian as it is Shakespearean.

Professor Schick, indeed, has written that "the greatest elements of the Shakespearean drama, great action and great characters, great scenes and great play of the passions, *a mighty language and a mighty metre*, are foreshadowed together, one and all, in no earlier drama so well as in THE SPANISH TRAGEDY."<sup>1</sup> But (to say nothing of the close contemporaneity of Kyd and Marlowe) that learned and good man has here succumbed to the temptation of overpraising work that he has well and laboriously edited.<sup>2</sup> There is in Kyd no mighty language; as little is there a mighty metre; and the assertion serves only to convey the usual impression of failure to realise wherein great rhythm consists. Kyd's first play, in sooth, abounds in cheap action, poor as well as strong scenes, crude play of the passions, and has no great character. The metre is a world beneath the winged motion of Shakespeare; and it is the early metre, diction, and manner that stamp the Mortimer death-scene. The best thing that can be said for Kyd

<sup>1</sup> Temple ed. of *The Spanish Tragedy*, Pref. p. xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. T. H. Dickinson, in turn, finds in Greene's JAMES IV "the sweetening and mellowing touch of a dignified and manly philosophy."

is that, like criticism in our own time, he had to fumble and stumble on his upward way.

There are indeed in the SPANISH TRAGEDY scenes of a curious soulless savagery, perhaps derived from an Italian original, which can still be startling; and the transition of a Renaissance love-scene into a murder-scene is a memorable experiment in æsthetics, possible only at a time when dramatists could still "fly at anything they saw, like French falconers," making puppets without souls, but with plenty of action. Kyd made his first real woman when he turned to actual life (ARDEN) for inspiration, as Greene seems to have done when he thought of the wife he had deserted, and who, he knew, would at the end forgive him. Marlowe made none in his early dramas. But Kyd stands out from the rest as the man with the strongest "instinct" for variety and nexus in dramatic construction; and this, which must have impressed Marlowe, makes it very intelligible that he should first look to Kyd as a collaborator. The SPANISH TRAGEDY, indeed, may be regarded as the first English "thriller," and in that light it does considerably more credit to its creator than do most of the ten thousand contraptions of our own age. And thus it comes that, in reading Kyd and relating him to his corrivals, finding in his work neither mighty language nor mighty rhythm, we are moved to turn and

Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea.

As to the connection between the Mortimer scene and those on either side of it, we have to note that though "choked with ambition of the meaner sort" (l. 123) points back to "be choked with thy ambition" in the Roses scene (l. 112), the latter must be reckoned the later, as aforesaid. Marlowe is here echoing his first collaborator, who *now* intervenes in the recast, in the third messenger's speech in I, i, with a free resort to double-endings. On the other hand, III, i<sup>b</sup>, beginning with the entrance of the Mayor, is to be assigned to the early form, like Exeter's closing soliloquy (by Marlowe), though the first

part of the scene, also by Marlowe, has probably been by him recast, in respect of the five double-endings in lines 8-32—a proportion (20 per cent.) which, on Dr. Gaw's ruling principle, should dictate its assignment by him to Shakespeare instead of Marlowe, to whom he credits it. Here again his theory has gone astray in his own hands.

As to the scene-section III, *ib* ("Enter Mayor"), there is a heavy balance of presumption in favour of Kyd as against Peele. Word clues here are not decisive, for "sighs and tears" are common in both; though "enacted" (l. 116=*performed*) seems to be special to Kyd (compare I, i, 122). The issue goes deeper. The methodical construction is characteristic of Kyd and not of Peele, while the flat diction and cadence exclude any thought of Marlowe. Of Greene there is no semblance. If then we can regard as Peele's the Joan scene, v, iv, wholly contributed to the 1592 recast, and *then* interpolated by Marlowe, we shall be left with no outstanding scene contributed by Peele to the first form of the play; and he would be the more unlikely as a contributor of a scene-section in that. It remains the more astonishing that he should be credited with the play as a whole by Dr. Tucker Brooke and Professor Quincy Adams. Such a verdict would be intelligible if passed—as several times it has been—on *TITUS*, because there Peele opens every Act and pervades nearly all, with Kyd and Marlowe and Greene as accomplices in a laboured composite, on a basis originally framed by Kyd. But to pass such a judgment on I HENRY VI, which Marlowe opens and dominates, and which remains a loose structure of wildly juxtaposed effects, the most energetic of which are so clearly his, while the other picturesque elements come mainly from Greene, is to be critically perverse. The guess of an undergraduate should not without strict testation become the doctrine of a chaired academic.

For in yet another section of our play do we find Kyd, as contributor to the recast. That the gunner-and-turret scenes (I, iv) belong to 1592 is sufficiently established by Dr. Gaw's careful research, which fixes

that year for the first resort to the turret on the Elizabethan stage,<sup>1</sup> but it is further established for the student of versification by the fact that in the short opening section of dialogue between the master gunner and his boy we have five double-endings<sup>2</sup> to the 21 lines, a proportion of nearly 24 per cent., which, on the proclaimed principle of Dr. Gaw, should compel us to assign the section to Shakespeare. He, however, assigns it to "B," who may be Greene or another.

Greene's it might conceivably be in respect of the simple and facile iambic diction; but nowhere else in the play does he come near 24 per cent. of double-endings; and there is one very obvious phraseological clue to Kyd, who in the third messenger's speech has in 16 lines even exceeded that rate. The oddly clumsy line:

To intercept this inconvenience,

points definitely to the SPANISH TRAGEDY where "intercept" is thus quaintly used two or three times (it is used normally in ARDEN, IV, iv, 5); and the line:

That I might kill him more conveniently  
(S.T. IV, iv, 134),

strengthens the homology. "Unfortunate," too, is one of Kyd's common words.

It is in the next section (iv $\delta$ ) that there is a temptation to infer a change of hand. The gunner-and-boy dialogue is far too slackly commonplace to be assigned to Marlowe; but the section beginning

Talbot, my life, my joy, again returned !

is of a rather stronger texture. Yet this too, on scrutiny, will be found to be of a duller and flatter composition

<sup>1</sup> Work cited, pp. 36-40, 41-61.

<sup>2</sup> The corrupt lines :

And even these three days have I watched  
If I could see them

were probably penned :

And these three days have I watched if I could see them,  
and then unintelligently expleted by someone who thought the line limped.

than Marlowe uses in such situations, and its narrative structure again points to Kyd, who is so much given to such recital. This, in fact, must have belonged to the first form of the play (there is only one double-ending in Talbot's speech), and the gunner-and-boy business is an intercalation. The earlier writing, as in the Mortimer scene, is the more conscientious, if the more laboured. When the boy returns with a linstock, lines are added to Salisbury's speech (ll. 57-65); and two new persons introduced; and now again the double-endings increase, so that in Talbot's speech of 28 lines *after* the shooting we have five, or nearly 18 per cent.

And though the rest of the scene may be plausibly assigned to Marlowe, those prior sections should, I think, be definitely ascribed to Kyd. As already noted, the line :

And with my nails digged stones out of the ground

points alike to the passage in III, i $\alpha$ , and to the SPANISH TRAGEDY (III, xiii, 122). And, in sum, the feeling and diction of Talbot's first and second speeches are Kyd's, not Marlowe's. Such machine-made verse as this :

What chance is this that suddenly hath crossed us ?  
 Speak, Salisbury; *at least, if thou canst speak* :  
 How far'st thou, mirror of all martial men ?  
*One of thy eyes and thy cheek's side struck off !*  
 Accursèd tower ! accursèd fatal hand  
 That hath contrived *this woful tragedy* . . .  
*One eye thou hast, to look to heaven for grace ;*  
*The sun with one eye vieweth all the world* . . .

was possible only for Kyd and Peele at their lowest levels of inspiration. I submit that it is the work of Kyd.

Again the clues are not singly conclusive ; but we are irresistibly reminded of

O speak if any spark of life remain !

in the SPANISH TRAGEDY (II, v, 17) ; while the line

Play on the lute, *beholding the towns burn*



echoes a Marlowesque passage in EDWARD III (III, ii, end).

"This woful tragedy" might be anybody's but Marlowe's, and could well be Kyd's, who thus has "tragedy" for death many times, and "woful" more than once. The line:

His sword did ne'er leave striking in the field,

is certainly Marlowesque, but it is mere borrowing to keep the thing going, and we sink to:

Yet liv'st thou, Salisbury, though thy speech doth fail . . .

Sir Thomas Gargrave, hast thou any life?

Speak unto Talbot, nay, look up to him.—

Salisbury, cheer thy spirit with this comfort . . .

a sample of the inanity into which mourning scenes could fall in the hands of men devoid of afflatus. But in one line we have the verifiable finger-print of Kyd:

*Bear hence his body; I will help to bury it,*

happens to be a plain variant of the formula:

*Keepers convey him hence, and I myself*

*Will see his burial better than his life,*

which we have already seen duplicated in his plays.

If these assignments should stand, Kyd figures on a level with Greene as a contributor to the revision; and unless Peele be supposed to have revised some of Kyd's scenes, his is the smallest share of all.

In view of Kyd's activity as a designer of "side scenes," I had for a time questioned whether he may have penned, in the first form of the play, Scene iv, i<sup>o</sup>, the appeal of Vernon and Basset (led up to in III, iv<sup>o</sup>) for permission to combat. This appears to have been the first introduction of the badge motive, which is finally exploited in the Temple Garden scene (II, iv); and it is so inherently feeble in conception that one hesitates to assign it to Marlowe's draft. The absurd appeal to the King by two "servants" to make their squabble a matter of formal combat is more like a

realistic freak of Kyd's, pointing to the sand-bag fight between master and prentice in Part II.

But the device of a duel scene is twice exploited by Marlowe in RICHARD II—certainly with stronger rhetoric than here; and the protest of Gloucester and the long speech of the King (with six double-endings in 40 lines = 15 per cent.<sup>1</sup>) appear to be penned for the recast, by way of strengthening and elevating the scene as a whole. In this portion the verse is predominantly Marlowe's, though some of the phrasing and sentiment of the first 17 lines, which appear to be an insertion, are strongly suggestive of Greene; and the poorer diction and effect of the speeches of Vernon and Basset are still not plausibly assignable to Kyd. There was inferably an earlier form of the King's speech, and the remaining speeches of Warwick, York, and Exeter are to be understood as early work also. It is only in the Margaret and Suffolk scene, and in the conclusion, that we can find further non-Marlovian matter of any importance in the play.

<sup>1</sup> Hence Dr. Gaw finds it "largely rewritten" by Shakespeare.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE MARGARET AND SUFFOLK SCENE: THE PEACE TREATY: AND THE CONCLUSION

#### § I

It is significant of much critical inconsistency that the Margaret-Suffolk scene (v, iii*b*) has been assigned by Fleay to Lodge, by Hart to Shakespeare, by Dr. Tucker Brooke to Peele, revised by Shakespeare; and by Dr. Gaw to Shakespeare again. This last assignment is one more negation of Dr. Gaw's own doctrine as to feminine endings. In the 150 lines, of which only two rhyme, there are only seven double-endings (4.6 per cent.); in the first hundred lines, down to the entrance of Reignier below, there is *none*. With the second Reignier dialogue there appears indeed to be some change of style, suggesting Marlowe. But the entire dialogue to that point, and the last speech of Suffolk, are assignable to Greene, not only by cadence, but by many clues, some of them extremely strong; and the assignment of the whole to Shakespeare is unintelligible save on a false theory of metric history.

Dr. Gaw's claim that the scene is "entirely new" is clearly correct, though why *he* should find anything "new" in a play which he thinks to have been wholly composed in 1592 is not clear. But on his theory, the scarcity of feminine endings is utterly inexplicable. Realising that the bulk of the scene is Greene's, we who regard the play as a recast can on that ground assent as to the newness. Applying reasonable tests, we note at once the lines:

She is beautiful, and therefore to be wooed;  
She is a woman, therefore to be won—

a tag so often used by Greene in his prose<sup>1</sup> that his editor, Dr. Grosart, reckoned its appearance in *TITUS* one of the grounds for assigning that play to Greene as a whole, whereas, of course, he should only have claimed, on that score, the particular scene. When we find the whole of the first hundred lines of this scene to be in Greene's verse manner, in the main rapidly and markedly iambic, the inference is to be overborne only by a preponderance of different clues.

But the whole of the noticeable clues of phrase and vocabulary appear to point definitely to Greene, as a list will show:—

1. *Reverent hands*. This use of the adjective is *very* common in Greene's prose. See *Introduction to the Canon*, p. 334.
2. *Tender side*. Such a use of this common adjective is one of Greene's tics. E.g. "tender mother" (*James IV*, i, 1); "tender twigs" (*Id. ib.*); "tender hart" (*Id.* iv, ii); "tender hind" (*Id.* v, vi); "tender whelp" (*Id. ib.*, twice).
3. *Nature's miracle*. This appears to be one of a batch of equivalent phrases used by the poets of the time. Cp. "earth's miracles" (*F.B.* vi, iii); "the world's wonder and Arcadie's miracle" (*Menaphon*, Arber's rep., p. 81; cp. pp. 62, 90); "earth's wonder" (*Looking-Glass*, ii, i); "nature's glory" (*F.B.* iii, ii); "nature's sole wonder" (*Locrine*, v, iv).
4. *Gorgeous beauty*. Another of Greene's overworked epithets, generally applied to female beauty. (*Introduction*, as cited, p. 386.)
5. *Disable not thyself* (self-addressed). Compare Amurack's address to himself (*Alphonsus*, v, iii, *near end*). Compare

<sup>1</sup> See *Introduction to the Canon*, p. 94. Compare:

She is won; but I must woo  
And win fair Ida,

in *James IV*, i, i. Dr. Gaw makes a startling statement on this point. He calls the tag "a popular phrase that with slight variations occurs repeatedly in plays of about the date 1592-3 and earlier," and he gives the references: "E.g. *Richard III*, i, ii, 228-9; *Tit. And.* ii, i, 82-3," making no mention of the samples in Greene's prose before 1592, cited by Grosart, or of any "earlier" play. We must infer that Dr. Gaw did not know the facts. The tag, though traceable to *Euphues*, is here emphatically Greene's; the form in *Richard III* is quite obviously an adaptation, treating the idea as an established proverb; and the use in *Titus* points to him and to no one else. Unfortunately, Dr. Gaw's method of *petitio principii* makes him miss Greene where he is most obvious.

again: "You mar the market . . . You must be proud" (*Looking-Glass*, II, i); "Why are you so blank?" (*Alphonsus*, I, i). The situation here is that of Lacy, in *J. IV*, II, iii.

6. *Hast not a tongue?* Compare: "Art thou dumb?" (*Alphonsus*, v, iii).
7. *Fond man*. The phrase, *self-addressed*, is exactly equivalent to the "fond King" of James (*James IV*, I, i) in an exactly similar crisis. Each soliloquist reproaches himself, as a husband, for loving another woman. A partly similar situation (Lacy and Margaret) occurs in *F.B.*
8. *Paramour*. A word constantly used by Greene in his prose and plays.
9. *Cooling card*. A special tic of Greene's, admitted by Hart to be, as it were, his "hall-mark." (See *Introduction*, as cited, p. 386).
10. *Captivate* (participle). Another word of Greene's not used by Marlowe, save in *infin.*, though Kyd has both the participle and "captivated."
11. *I unworthy am*. Compare "Far unworthy is Angelica" (*Orlando*, I, i), and "I banished am" (*Alphonsus*, III, iii).
12. *Castle walls*. See *Orlando*, I, ii.
13. *Unapt*. Used by Greene (*J. IV*, II, ii).
14. *Face* (verb). Used by Greene (*James IV*, I, ii).
15. *Labyrinth*. "Labyrinth of love" is common in Greene's prose, as in Lodge's (*Cp. Looking-Glass*, IV, iii).
16. *Solicit*. A common word in Kyd, but used also by Greene (*J. IV*, II, ii, chorus).
17. *Semblance* = personal likeness or portrait. This seems quite specially to point to Greene. Compare:

Noble minds are by their semblance known  
(*James IV*, III, iii).

My soul  
Shall keep her semblance closed in my breast  
(*Id.* IV, v).

The word is more laxly used by Marlowe (*Massacre*, I, ii); and in a more exact use it occurs in *Faustus*, III, iv—one of the vulgarising scenes of diablerie evidently contributed by other hands, and in this case containing other clues which seem to point to Greene.

18. *He talks at random*. Admitted by Hart to occur often in Greene's prose. Significantly, it is found also in the *Two Gentlemen*, II, i, 117.

19. *Condescend*. Hart admits this to be a "favourite" word with Greene.
20. *So doth the swan her downy cygnets save*. Hart notes that "the metaphor is Greene's" (*Mamillia*: Works, ii, 167).

All this seems strong corroboration of the inference to Greene. But, though verbal and phrasal clues are usually necessary to awaken readers to the authorship of unsigned work—as in the tracing of the painters of old Italian portraits exact criticism began by noting the artists' treatment of the sitters' hands—any one who has watchfully read Greene ought to perceive in these hundred lines at once his cast of thought and feeling and his normal versification. One hindrance to the perception, perhaps, is the absence of the "for to" tic which marks so much of his verse.

This inexpensive northern archaism or vernacularism, which figures some seventy times in *ALPHONSUS*, was in fact the commonest "eke" ("for because" and "whenas that" are others) to which he heedlessly resorted in his helter-skelter line-making; and he is most outrageously lavish of it at his outset.<sup>1</sup> It must have been exclaimed against as cheap padding. Yet we find it at least eleven times even in the late play, *JAMES IV*, and it is one of the clues to Greene in the *PINNER*. In *JAMES IV*, however, Greene has so far purged his practice that he can write a good many scenes without one "for to." He could, then, perfectly well write a scene without one in 1591-2. For the rest, the tinsel and glitter of his manner are in no degree transcended: hence our wonder that such writing should be accounted Shakespeare's. The cheap device of making the main persons in a dialogue soliloquise, Suffolk not hearing Margaret in his preoccupation,<sup>2</sup> is so poorly handled that we get the lines:

*Suf.* I'll win this lady Margaret. For whom?

Why, for my King; tush, that's a wooden thing!

*Mar.* He talks of wood; it is some carpenter——

Greene at his artificial worst. That such ineptitude

<sup>1</sup> There are five in one short scene of *Alphonsus* (v, ii), three in 12 lines of the previous scene, and four in 20 lines of I, ii.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *F.B.* I, i, 22; *J. IV*, I, i, *passim*.

should be ascribed to Shakespeare by serious scholars is one of the salient reasons for clearing up the canon in the interests of sane culture. This end-stopped verse belongs to the first flight, no less than the hackneyed ideation.

That the lines 146-64 are an addition, framed to emphasise the political side of the plot, may be the sole reason why they seem to suggest a change of hand. Even the same writer, re-addressing himself to a scene, might alter his movement and his key. In any case, it is hard to find here any recognisable marks of another hand; and the matter seems far too forceless for Marlowe. What is clear is that Suffolk's final speech is the work of Greene, if we can infer anything from verse-movement, sentiment, and special vocabulary.

## § 2

The unequal distribution of concision, speed, and energy of line in ivb—the scene-section of the peace negotiations—suggests that it is composite. The opening speech might quite well be by Peele; while the second (York's) savours of Marlowe. Peele again seems to emerge with the speech of Charles, though here it is impossible to say that the hand is not Kyd's, even if York's lines :

Speak, Winchester : for boiling choler chokes  
*The hollow passage of my prison'd<sup>1</sup> voice*  
 By sight of these our baleful enemies

recall the trite rhetoric of Peele :—

The fatal prison of my swelling voice  
*(Battle of Alcanzar, Dyce, p. 427b),*

where, as here, we may choose between the readings  
 "poison" and "prison."

But Alençon's speech, in turn, has much of the vigour

<sup>1</sup> *Poison'd* in Folio. The emendation is Theobald's.

of Marlowe, which is above the "pitch" of Kyd and Peele:—

Must he be then as (? a) shadow of himself ?  
 Adorn his temples with a coronet,  
 And yet, in substance and authority,  
 Retain but privilege of a private man ?  
 The proffer is absurd and reasonless.

The word *reasonless* here at once recalls the death-bed use of it by Greene in his GROATSWORTH OF WIT, and his (presumptive) late use of it in the TWO GENTLEMEN. But it is obviously possible that Marlowe may have used the word here, and that Greene may have echoed it, even as Marlowe may have penned the line on "vengeance at the gates of heaven" in Joan's twenty-line speech, to be echoed later by Peele in DAVID. It is, accordingly, reasonable to surmise that this, which was inferably the last scene in the first form of the play, was controlled by Marlowe, the original draftsman.

### § 3

It is otherwise with the final scene of the recast play, in which Suffolk persuades the King and Court to accept Margaret as Queen. It is now common ground that this scene, with the previous wooing-scene, stands for the plan of connecting Part I with Part II. It does not follow, of course, that the CONTENTION was actually written before Part I; but it is clear that at the time of the recast it existed, and that the plays were manipulated to a common end. Further, we can conclude that v, v, the added finale, belongs to 1592, because it is demonstrably from the hand of Greene, who died in that year.

It is fairly obvious that only the conspicuous lack of double-endings withholds Dr. Gaw from assigning this, like the wooing-scene, to Shakespeare. In the 108 lines there is only one double. At the close of a treatise in which double-endings are repeatedly founded on (despite wholly inconsistent divagations from the professed rule)



as decisive marks of Shakespeare, the analyst could not end by assigning to him this section. Yet the hand, the style, the sentiment, the diction, the verse-movement, are those of the allegedly Shakespearean wooing-scene, where, be it remembered, the percentage of double-endings is only 4.6, a figure previously surpassed by Greene in separate scenes and speeches.

Dr. Gaw eludes the dilemma by marking the scene in his table as "Added, but not by Shakespeare." He can name no author for it. Yet, though Marlowe may well have written Suffolk's final speech, the authorship of the scene as a whole is clear. The first speech of Margaret in Part II, and Henry's reply, may well be penned by Peele; but the tripping iambics of the concluding scene of 1 HENRY VI are not his, even if the King's first speech be. That is indeed more than likely. Not only is the verse-movement quite Peelean, but there is a peculiar phrasal clue to him. The phrase "tempestuous gusts" occurs, in the Concordance, only here and in *TITUS* (v, iii, 69), where it is found in a speech irresistibly assignable to Peele. When we remember, further (a) that "tempestuous storms" occurs in *LOCRINE* (II, i, 57), in a speech which would be known to Peele whether he wrote it or not, and (b) that he has yet again the pleonasm "stormy tempest" in *Anglorum Ferie*, the use of the word in 1 HENRY VI may well be counted his. But his hand goes no further, Greene supervening to connect the scene with his v, iii. Suffolk's first lines:—

Tush,<sup>1</sup> my good lord, this superficial tale  
Is but a preface of her worthy praise;  
The chief perfections of that lovely dame,  
Had I sufficient skill to utter them,  
Would make a volume of enticing lines,  
Able to ravish any dull conceit,

point direct to Prince Edward's:—

Tush, Lacy, she is beauty's overmatch (*F.B.* I, i);

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hart's note *in loc.*: "Shakespeare's favourite ejaculation—from the *Bible*," is perhaps his masterstroke of nonsense. Greene has it, many times, like his corivals. What Hart meant I cannot conceive. Bartlett's Concordance gives only two instances of "Tush" in Shakespeare, though a third is the first word in *Othello*.

and

Able to ravish any dull conceit

recalls

Ateukin, I am ravished in conceit (*J. IV*, iv, v, 28);

and

Oh God, how I am ravish'd in your worth (*J. IV*, i, ii, *end*);

as "Had I sufficient skill" recalls

Had I the mind, as many courtiers have (*Id.* i, i, 225).

Equally Greenean are the sententious passages. From the first he had recourse at times to such, in alleviation of the tenuity of his general texture; and in JAMES IV he abounds in them, even to the extent of devoting a whole side-scene to sententious discussion. Minor verbal clues could be adduced—*contràry*, for instance (in one reading pointing to Marlowe), suggests his "contrarious" (*J. IV*, ii, ii), as *enticing*<sup>1</sup> his "enticings" (*Id.* i, iii); and "I mean" is as common with him as with any<sup>2</sup>—but the weight of the claim lies in the style, form, and content of the whole scene. The Greenean lines:—

Then yield, my lords, and here conclude with me  
That Margaret shall be Queen, and none but she,

have the very sing-song of the couplet:

But leaving these such glories as they be,  
I love, my lord; let that suffice for me,

which meets us four times in ORLANDO FURIOSO, i, i, and is matched by scores of his couplets in the same cadence.

More noteworthy, perhaps, is Gloucester's speech beginning

So should I give conceit to *flatter sin*,

which implicates passages in the LOOKING-GLASS and in JAMES IV. In the former play (i, i), the King of Crete,

<sup>1</sup> We have this word in two sequent lines in *Locrine* (v, iv), in which Greene visibly had a share; but I am not sure that the scene is not Kyd's.

<sup>2</sup> Hart's account of this phrase as a weak device of *Peele's* is sheer error. Marlowe and Greene use it often.

scandalised by Rasni's attitude to his sister Remilia, makes protest, and repels Radagon's compliance, with :

O flatter not, for hateful is his choice,  
And sister's love will blemish all his worth ;

and Rasni later (v, i) denounces the Magi who have "*flattered me in sin.*" In JAMES IV we have "soothe no vice" (i, i); "soothe (=flatter) thou not his sin" (ii, i, 156); and again (v, vi, 204):

That soothed you [James] in your sins and youthly pomp.

The parallelism of sentiment and language in all three cases is significant. Even where there is a verbal clue to Marlowe, as in the line :

Her valiant courage and *undaunted spirit*,<sup>1</sup>

we really have an echo from Greene's own early line :

Whose *valiant courage* could not *daunted be*  
(*Alphonsus*, III, ii, 147).

Minor verbal clues, such as *peerless*—a word many times used by Greene—are little worth stressing; but it may be noted that the special construction of the lines beginning with "As" after any "such" clause :

As his alliance will confirm our peace . . .

As I am sick with working of my thoughts . . .

abounds in ALPHONSUS. Finally, there is more than a mere verbal clue, there is a clue of habitual style, in one line of the King's final speech :

I rest perplexed with a thousand cares . . .

and in the concluding line

I may revolve and ruminate my grief.

This last is the mental duplicate of the phrases :

"Did ruminate the particularities of her loves"  
(*PHILOMELA* : Works, xi, 117).

"There solemnly he ruminates his love"  
(*Orlando* ; Dyce, p. 95b) ;

"And began to ruminate in her memory all the perfections of Philomenes" (*ORPHARION*, xii, 74) ;

<sup>1</sup> Occurring twice previously in the play : I, i, 127 ; III, ii, 99.

while the "rest perplexed" line is the gist of a hundred homogeneous phrases in his tales.

Nor is there any reason to doubt that Greene would thus collaborate. The man who wrote so many tales and scenes of forgiveness for cruel wrong would hardly refuse to be reconciled with Marlowe after having disparaged him. As Nashe recanted on that score, so would he. The testimonies at and after his death certify, further, that he was at least one of the most fecund playwrights of his day; and his style and manner, taken with Nashe's evidence as to his rapidity of production in prose, may convince us that he could write a play in a week, and a scene in an hour. We can detect him clearly in *TITUS*, on which he must have worked either shortly before his death or at an earlier stage with Kyd. And the fact that a large number of critics in the past recognised his presence in the *HENRY VI* plays *or* the originals, outweighs the mere general negatives of a few recent investigators, whose own attributions repeatedly repel assent. The one way to a critical decision is by induction after an analysis which applies *all* the relevant tests. And that is what has been attempted here.

We can now reconstruct Greene's dramatic career with a fair comprehension of his course. At his outset, presumably, he wrote prose comedies. The new vogue of blank-verse tragedy, testified to by Nashe's preface to *MENAPHON*, as well as by Greene's own peevish preface to his *PERIMEDES* (1588), stirred him to compete in that field, and, probably after sharing considerably in *LOCRINE* (1586), the most elementary of all the early blank-verse plays, he produced in *ALPHONSUS OF ARRAGON* a "thrasonical" tragedy of his own, *stans pede in uno*, a prodigy of flatulent facility. Thereafter his steps are upwards; even if *SELIMUS* be his, it tells of the Marlowe influence; and its stanzas develop from these in *LOCRINE*; *ORLANDO* improves upon *ALPHONSUS*, whether or not the *LOOKING-GLASS* be accorded any meed; and the inevitable recourse from remote to more potentially actual themes secures him a new kind of success in *FRIAR*

BACON and JAMES IV, despite the irreducible instability of his concepts of plot and conduct and his sinister self-regarding lenity to facile wickedness. In the Countess of Auvergne scene we have but his cheapest cleverness; but in the Countess scenes in EDWARD III, where he handles at his best a topic he had treated a dozen times in prose and verse, he reaches, near his end, his highest mark, on the ground of a Marlowe draft.

In JAMES IV we see him harking back largely to rhyme, in terms of his carping at blank-verse, and at the same time toying newly with the double-ending. In the corrupt or merely rough-drafted GEORGE-A-GREENE, on the other hand, a new multiplication of double-endings is undeniable, despite the irregularity of the lining. It may have been a death-bed effort. But in view of the surrender to the attraction of the double-ending both there and in EDWARD III, it is the more reasonable to see in the TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA—which alike in plot and style and substance, phraseology and ethic, characterisation and versification, so signally identifies him—his last finished work of all, that comedy which on his death-bed he tells us he had “lastly . . . writ” with “young Juvenal.” This cannot be the LOOKING-GLASS, written with Lodge, which must be dated years earlier,<sup>1</sup> before Lodge left England for the second time; and we can detect Nashe in Launce’s praise of the dog.

A sinful sermoniser, penning penitence, hysteria, and scurvy spite on his forlorn death-bed, Greene left his light mark on English comedy. The mark left on historical drama in the play before us is certainly not admirable, his late-developed gift for limning lovable women having here no play. But it is our business to indicate his plain traces where we find them.

Perhaps, in measuring those men, we should remember that Greene, dying in a spendthrift’s poverty, had some cause for anger against the players. They, if anybody, had made steady money out of the work of the playwrights, whose small payments included no royalties.

<sup>1</sup> So Dickinson, *Introd. to ‘Mermaid’ ed. of Greene*, p. xlix. Even Collins dates it 1590. It was probably written in 1589.

It must have been as sharer in his troupe, not as author or actor, that Shakespeare won a monetary competence. And it may have been his sense of the real grievance of the ill-paid builders of the Elizabethan drama that made him show no malice to the dead poet who had so spitefully assailed him, and even (DREAM, v, *ib.*, 52-3), accord a kindly word to his memory. The opening section of that scene, which has ten double-endings in 26 lines of blank verse (nearly 40 per cent.) must be a late addition, and has some flatly un-Shakespearean lines; but the next section is clearly early. The allusion, however, remains disputable.

#### NOTE ON GREENEAN CHRONOLOGY

One of the most perplexing miscarriages of Professor Churton Collins is his reiterated statement as to the chronology of Greene's plays:—

"It seems to me . . . in a high degree probable that ALPHONSUS was written not earlier than the beginning of 1591,<sup>1</sup> and that it is not only the earliest of Greene's extant dramas, but that it was his first attempt at dramatic composition."<sup>2</sup>

He had himself written in his General Introduction (p. 67): "It is possible that [Greene's] dramatic activity extended over at least four years"; and he might well say so. By Collins's own account, Greene died early in September 1592; and he has accepted as Greene's (with reservation as to THE PINNER) the six plays already edited by Dyce. He has also noted Nashe's testimony that Greene wrote "for the Company" (? the Queen's Players) "more than four other," and that Chettle reckoned him the chief or only comedy-writer of his time. Yet he packs the whole of Greene's known dramatic output into some nineteen months, seeing that Greene was sorely ill throughout August of 1592.

That Greene could have written six plays in nineteen months is quite credible; but that he could in that period have passed through the evolution represented by *those* plays is not credible. And as neither Collins nor any one else disputes that he must have written or shared in more plays than these (whether or not he wrote SELIMUS or shared in LOCRINE or the old LEIR or

<sup>1</sup> Mr. T. H. Dickinson in his *Introd.* to the Mermaid ed. of Greene says Collins gave the date 1590. He definitely fixes the date in 1591.

<sup>2</sup> *The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene*, 1905, *Introd.* to *Alphonsus*, Vol. I, p. 74. See also pp. 38-69. There Collins makes no account of *Locrine* or *Selimus*.

EDWARD III (or the HENRY VI plays) to obtain his reputation as a fecund play-writer, the 1591 date for his first work is simply preposterous. Dickinson and Gayley have excellent grounds for dating FRIAR BACON 1589; and all men agree that that *cannot* be his first work. ALPHONSUS should be dated 1587 or 1588, as following close on TAMBURLAINE;<sup>1</sup> but it is a fallacy to infer from the lines in the prologue:

I, which was wont to follow Cupid's games . . .  
Will now begin to treat of bloody Mars,

as so many critics have done, that Greene there first takes to drama. The reasonable inference is that previously he had written only prose comedies, and that now he turns to more serious drama, though according to contemporary usage ALPHONSUS is still entitled a "Comical History," inasmuch as it does not end tragically. His large contemporary fame as a comedy-writer, testified to by Chettle, must rest on more than two years' work which included five serious plays.

If we trace growth by quality, ALPHONSUS was followed by ORLANDO, which, thin as it is, has more "mind to the square inch" than the other, and more actuality of character; then would come the LOOKING-GLASS and FRIAR BACON; and after these JAMES IV, followed finally (in the canon) by GEORGE-A-GREENE, of which we have only a mutilated or unfinished text. But on the latter points there is no certainty; though the increase in double-endings in GEORGE-A-GREENE proves lateness, even as do the percentages of double-endings in the Countess of Salisbury scenes in EDWARD III, and above all in THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA.

But the outstanding mark of Greene's progression is his rise to dramatic significance by the presentation of women; and his chief triumph in art is in the Countess scenes, because there he handles with intension and extension a theme which he had treated many times over, in his prose stories and in his plays, from FRIAR BACON to JAMES and GEORGE-A-GREENE. Even in JAMES IV there are relapses to the heedless volubility which utterly enervates ALPHONSUS, though the relative simplicity of his diction—apart from technical jargon in FRIAR BACON—remains noticeable to the end. The TWO GENTLEMEN (written with a scene from Nashe?) may be his last play of all, as is claimed above.

Collins's reasons for his verdict are quite nugatory. They amount merely to noting that there is no surviving documentary *allusion* to Greene as a playwright before February 1592. The simple fact that Greene's *printed* output before that date was wholly in his stories, while such a play as ALPHONSUS, even if printed early, must have been a failure, sufficiently accounts for his not having been named in rivalry with Marlowe.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Collins, as cited, i, 38.

Collins has actually written (Gen. Introd., p. 39): "I am myself inclined to think that he began to write for the stage *not long* after the appearance of TAMBURLAINE, that his first play was ALPHONSUS, which was at once an imitation of Marlowe's play and an attempt to rival it, and that it was a failure." But by 1591 Marlowe had certainly written several more plays, in essential respects superior to TAMBURLAINE. It is even possible that ALPHONSUS OF ARRAGON was written on the cue of the title and vogue of ALPHONSUS OF GERMANY rather than of TAMBURLAINE, though the editors of Greene do not seem to have had the idea. On the other hand, it is not yet certain that ALPHONSUS OF GERMANY was not suggested by Greene's failure.

Finally, Collins puts it (p. 42) as a "natural deduction" from all the data that Greene had failed on the stage and had betaken himself *again* to prose-writing *in* 1589, when MENAPHON was published! Thus he absolutely stultifies his own 1591 date for Greene's first play. Then he puts (p. 44) the three plays, ORLANDO, FRIAR BACON, and JAMES IV, all in 1591, thus making the best come within a year of the first and worst. It is impossible to attach *authority* to the judgments of such a chronologist. When he puts (p. 39) the alternatives that either Greene "had made no impression as a dramatist" before 1592, "or that he cared more for fame as a novelist than for fame as a dramatic poet," the theorist frames a spurious dilemma. Having regard to the emphatic testimony of Chettle and Nashe in 1592, and of Brabine in 1594, we know that Greene *must* have made an impression as a dramatist years before his death.

When, then, we are met by Dr. Gaw's claim that Greene could not have written any of 1 HENRY VI at the stage at which he scribbled ALPHONSUS, we may readily agree, and yet count the author of JAMES IV perfectly capable of the Greenean verse in our play in 1592, or even in 1591. And even if we date the CONTENTION as early as 1590, it is no great claim to make for him that he could then have written what little we find to be in his manner in that play.



## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

It is obviously impossible to prove that Shakespeare added or altered no line in this or any play in his company's repertory. But we have every reason for saying that he has added no speech in any way comparable to that of Young Clifford in Part II, v, Scene ii<sup>6</sup>. To assign to him such passages as

Mars his true moving, even as in the heavens,  
So in the earth, to this day is not known,

or

Glory is like a circle in the water,  
Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself,

on the score of their poetic effect, is to ignore verse-form in favour of rhetorical force, whereas Marlowe's power of sheer line-making at this stage exceeded Shakespeare's. Chapman, who twice echoes the "Glory" lines (Epist. Ded. to trans. of Iliad, and OVID's BANQUET) was much more likely to copy Marlowe,<sup>1</sup> whom he extolled, than to cite Shakespeare, of whom he was jealous; and the Mars passage embodies a topic that would at least as readily appeal to Marlowe as to Nashe, whose similar statement of it has been made a ground for ascribing the lines to him.<sup>2</sup> He did not write thus in verse.

In another outstanding case, work of Marlowe's has been assigned to Shakespeare on the alternate grounds of literary power and double-endings. Dr. H. D. Gray<sup>3</sup> has argued that the first 40 lines of Winchester's speech

<sup>1</sup> My tentative suggestion, twelve years ago, to the effect that Chapman might have been a reviser of our play, cannot stand, and has been by me long abandoned. The phrase was really common in some forms, at least after 1592.

<sup>2</sup> Hart, *in loc.* The phrase really came from Reginald Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), B. II, ch. xxi, p. 158. Nicholson's rep., p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> Cited by Dr. Gaw, p. 92.

at the beginning of III, i, "contain some of Shakespeare's writing," and Dr. Gaw "immediately" agrees, on the grounds that in those 40 lines "there are 15 per cent. of feminine endings, 20 per cent. of run-on lines, only 2.5 per cent. of pyrrhic feet, *clear Shakespearean vocabulary and (enough of itself to make the passage stand out in the play) two cases of the sentences ending in the middle of the line*" (italics mine).

Now, the phenomena of (a) run-on lines;<sup>1</sup> (b) fewness of pyrrhic feet (as *ambi-ti-ous*), and (c) sentence-ending in the middle of the line, are precisely those which Dr. Gaw ignores in crediting I, ii, and not I, i, of the ERRORS to Shakespeare. Furthermore, he has credited Marlowe and another with high percentages of double-endings in other scenes, and Shakespeare with the wooing-scene, which has only 4.6. But the serious flaws in the argument are the claims that in the 40 lines under notice we have two cases of sentence-ending within the line, and "clear Shakespearean vocabulary"—this with no mention of the un-Shakespearean irregularity of the lining, and the turgidity of the diction.

To cite such lines as

Humphrey of Gloster? If thou canst accuse . . .  
and

Gloster, I do defy thee.—Lords vouchsafe . . .

—for there are no others so describable—as cases of ending the *sentence* within the line, is surely trifling. *Such* cases abound in all the pre-Shakespeareans. What Shakespeare achieved was to end constructed verse sentences—not mere interjectional phrases—within the line, thus dissolving the monotony of the norm. Now, the 40 cited lines are perfectly typical end-stopped verse. The slight kind of merely syntactic running-on of line which Dr. Gaw exalts as "20 per cent." can be matched in Marlowe and the others many times over. Greene

<sup>1</sup> This, in the only relevant meaning, requires the implication of run-on rhythm. Marlowe had syntactically run-on *lines* from the first, and they are common in Greene and Kyd. Dr. Gaw, in his clause (c), points to the rhythmic change which alone alters the line-ended verse. There are more run-on lines—i.e. of mere run-on syntax—in the last scene of Act v than in III, i; yet Dr. Gaw will not give it to Shakespeare.

attains it at its worst, in ALPHONSUS. The essential fact is that in such pre-Shakespearean versification the line remains predominantly and typically end-stopped, for lack of rhythm-break or real sentence-ending within the line, and of variation in the stresses.

It is quite possible that Marlowe recast or revised the Winchester speech; but Marlowe matter it signally remains. The very first line, with its "deep-premeditated," points to his "deep-engender'd," "deep-persuading," "deep-divorcing," "deep-entrenchèd," "deep-enragèd"; and the lining has his frequent irregularity and laxity of syntax, even as the diction has his frequent expletion, descending at points to forcible-feebleness. For instances:

Or thou should'st *find thou hast dishonour'd me . . .*

Verbatim to *rehearse the method of my pen*

(a bad alexandrine, dilute and prosaic);

No, prelate, such is thy audacious wickedness,  
Thy lewd, pestiferous, and dissentious pranks

(another bad alexandrine, and then a line of flatulent epithets);

And for thy treachery, *what's more manifest,*  
*In that* thou laid'st a trap to take my life;

From envious malice of thy swelling heart

(one of the most hackneyed clichés of the day);

Lords, vouchsafe

To give me hearing *what I shall reply*

(a line at the lower levels of Peele and Kyd).

This is not merely un-Shakespearean, it is not even good Marlowese; and the lines 35-38 are within the ordinary scope of Greene. Why then is such matter assigned to Shakespeare, of whom it is so uncharacteristic? Simply because the scene *opens* well in end-stopped fashion, being really Marlovian, and there can be no pretence of dividing it save where the dialogue

comes down to short speeches. It is not for civilised critics to accuse each other of "lewd, pestiferous, and dissentious pranks"; but to find one's fellow-tribesmen claiming that it is Shakespeare who thus "unpacks his mouth with words" is almost to "begin to pall in resolution" before such hopeless misvaluation of his manner.

Such, however, has been the manner of the campaign in the past—when Dowden could assign to Shakespeare the line:

Look pale as primrose, with blood-drinking sighs  
(2 H. VI, III, ii, 63)

because—*horresco referens*!—Shakespeare was "interested in the primrose"—as was Greene! There is clearly no way out without patience, in this as in other fields of "the higher criticism," as we bumpiously term it.

It remains, then, to put in summary form the assignments we have been led to make in our survey of the play, scene by scene.

## ACT I

Scene i, lines 1-68. (Death of Henry V.) Marlowe. (First form.)

„ lines 69-81. Greene. (New in recast.)

„ lines 82-102. Marlowe.

„ lines 103-147. Kyd. (New in recast.)

„ lines 148 to end. Marlowe.

Scene ii. Marlowe. (First form. Lines 100-101 probably interpolated in the recast.)

Scene iii. Marlowe. (Lines 1-20 perhaps added (Kyd intervening) in the recast; and lines 21-27 more probably so by M.)

„ iii, lines 28 to end. Marlowe.

„ iv<sup>a</sup>, lines 1-21. Kyd. (New in recast.)

„ iv<sup>b</sup>, lines 22-24, and 26-60. Kyd. (First form.)

„ iv<sup>c</sup>, lines 61-98. Kyd. (New in recast.)

„ iv<sup>d</sup>, lines 99 to end. Probably Marlowe.

„ v. Marlowe. (First form. Lines 7-12 probably added by him in recast.)

„ vi. Marlowe. (Reignier's speech perhaps inserted in recast.)

## ACT II

- Scene i. (Assault of Orléans.) Greene. (New in recast.)  
 „ iia, lines 1-25 (?). Kyd. (First form.)  
 „ iib, lines 26 to end. Greene. (New in recast.)  
 „ iiii (Countess of Auvergne scene). Greene. (New in recast.)  
 „ iv (Roses scene). Marlowe. (New in recast.)  
 „ v (Mortimer scene). Kyd. (First form.)

## ACT III

- Scene ia, lines 1-76. Marlowe. (First form—revised.)  
 „ ib, lines 76-186. Kyd. (First form.)  
 „ ic, lines 187-201. Marlowe. (First form.)  
 „ iia, lines 1-35. (Before Rouen). Greene. (New in recast.)  
 „ iib, lines 36 to end. Marlowe. (First form.)  
 „ iiii to end. Greene. (New in recast.)  
 „ iv (adjustments and links). Greene (?). (New in recast.)

## ACT IV

- Scene ia, lines 1-77. Marlowe. (First form.)  
 „ ib, lines 78-122. Marlowe. (First form.)  
 „ ib, lines 123-181. Marlowe and Greene. (Recast.)  
 „ ib, lines 182 to end. Marlowe. (First form.)  
 „ ii. Marlowe. (New in recast.)  
 „ iii. Marlowe. (New in recast.)  
 „ iv. Marlowe. (New in recast.)  
 „ v. Marlowe. (New in recast.)  
 „ vi. Marlowe. (New in recast.)  
 „ vii. Marlowe. (New in recast.)

## ACT V

- Scene i. Marlowe. (Revised.)  
 „ ii. Marlowe. (First form.)  
 „ iia. (Pucelle Scene.) Greene. (New in recast.)  
 „ iib. (Margaret-Suffolk.) Greene. (New in recast.)  
 „ iib, lines 142-150. Doubtful. (New in recast.)  
 „ iia, lines 33-53. Probably Marlowe (revising Peele).  
 „ iia, lines 55 to end. Peele (?) or Kyd (?). (New in recast.)  
 „ ivb. Marlowe in first form. Probably revised.  
 „ v, lines 1-9. Peele.  
 „ v, lines 10-102. Greene. (New in recast.)  
 „ v, lines 103-108. Suffolk's closing speech possibly by Marlowe.

This summary has been framed after a good deal of dubiety at certain points, but with confidence as to nearly all the main scenes, and with entire confidence as to the negation of Shakespeare's authorship of any scene or scene-section. It reveals Marlowe as dominating the first form of the play; inserting only the theatrically effective Roses scene in the recast second Act, which is largely new; revising his strong opening scene in Act III; and still giving Joan good treatment, apart from the new departure of Greene, who begins her denigration. In Act IV, again, he dominates and theatrically saves the play by the Talbot scenes, which are all his. In Act V he again opens; and, after Greene and Peele in succession have effected the degradation of Joan, gives her (probably) one last defiant speech, which nevertheless leaves her sacrificed to the management and the groundlings.

In natural course he would have ended with the treaty of peace; but the introduction of Margaret, managed by Greene to connect the play with Part II, involved the new closing scene, to which Marlowe may have added Suffolk's closing speech.

In the first form, which we have been forced to infer from all the phenomena, there were doubtless scenes which have been cancelled by the recast, and can hardly be guessed at. But it is fairly clear that Marlowe all along planned a chivalrous presentment of The Maid. Conceivably he may have drafted the real story of her capture, transfer, trial, and death, dismissing her as heroine and martyr, to the dissatisfaction of the audiences. In the recast he could not carry his point. The play had probably missed success largely because of his friendly treatment of the girl leader of the French revival; and "those who live to please must please to live." Giving up Joan to the patriots, he put new stage life into the play by the Roses scene, and new popular appeal in the Talbot death-scenes, with their turgid pathos and sounding rhetoric. The recast sufficed to make the play the success of its season; and Marlowe appears to have proceeded with a revision of Parts II and III, with some

collaboration and, not long before his end, with a separate play on RICHARD III, in which his now considerable knowledge of stage effect, still joined with Kyd's, effected what was to be an enduring popular success, in virtue of the dæmonic character with which he clothed Richard, his typical villain-hero, made King. Then, "cut was the branch that might [or might not] have grown full straight."

Shakespeare did very little to RICHARD III. To 1 HENRY VI he seems to have done nothing at all. Barred he certainly was from any rehabilitation of Joan, even as he was barred from giving a treble instead of a tenor epithalamium to Juliet. The actors would not have accepted the latter, and neither management nor audience would have accepted the former. Apart from the miserable denigration of Joan, there was no scene that he would conceivably have cared to touch. Here is no haunt for Apollo. It is doubtless a precarious course to suggest that Shakespeare rewrote the first scene of the ERRORS because he played Ægeon; and we cannot suppose him to have rewritten Young Clifford's speech in Part II for the same reason. It seems more likely that he inserted that and a few other touches because the revision, whether by Marlowe or Kyd, had been left incomplete. These are but surmises, though Greene's death-bed taunt encourages them; and we cannot tell whether or not Shakespeare ever played a part in 1 HENRY VI. But it is easy enough to understand that the play, with its chaos of anachronism and disconnection, could never move him to meddle as he did in RICHARD II. At its worst point, it *must* not be mended. It was thus not worth mending at all.

When all is said, then, we are not justified, even by the cloudy counsel of Sir E. K. Chambers, in supposing Shakespeare to have been ethically colour-blind. The tested evidence is all the other way. Sir Edmund, through long labour on the collection of brass tacks, is grown somewhat impercipient of their function—a kind of fate that seems to overtake, now and then, alike collectors of violins and collectors of butterflies. It is

even probable that Shakespeare recognised truth as the ten per cent. of verifiable belief attainable among men mostly well qualified for believing the false, and therefore, on the whole, preferring it. *Populus vult decipi*—the proverb is somewhat musty.

But, of course, our fundamental business is to ascertain whether he really wrote all the bad drama and second or third-rate or worse poetry which, being factitiously conveyed as his, has been on that score extolled and expounded by duly constituted authorities. And the truth on that head is to be ascertained only by an entirely honest and patient use of all the tests which can now avail us to indicate how and what he actually did write—the Muses, it may be, helping in the laboratory, if they consent to the discipline. They have certainly not haunted the council-table of the traditionists, even with poets present.

That Swinburne saw Shakespeare in ARDEN OF FEVERSHAM as well as in the Roses scene and the Talbot death-scenes; that Tennyson saw him in the Countess scenes of EDWARD III; and that Meredith saw him in a Fletcher part of HENRY VIII—these are considerations well fitted to give us pause. But, after due pause, there can be no misgiving as to the absolute necessity of a critical method which shall give us tested opinions. It is a long and a hard road, but it must be trodden.



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